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THE HISTORY

OF

ENGLISH DRAMATIC POETRY

TO THE TIME OF SHAKESPEARE:

AND

ANNALS OF THE STAGE

TO THE RESTORATION.

By J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., F.S.A.

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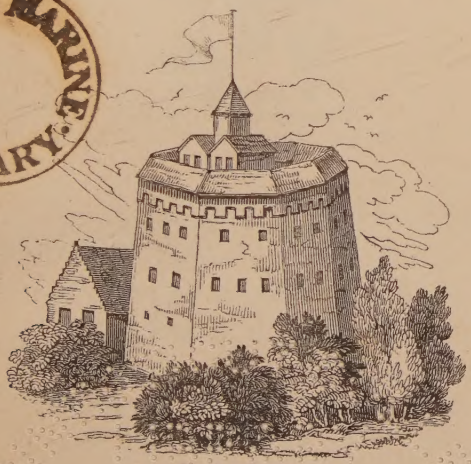

The Globe Theatre.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

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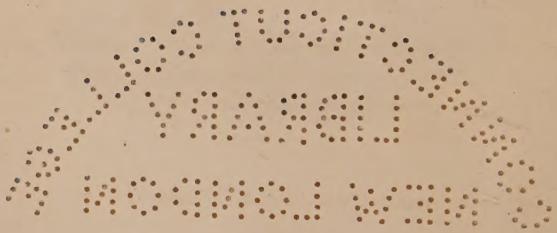

TO

HIS GRACE

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, K.G.,

LORD CHAMBERLAIN OF HIS MAJESTY'S HOUSEHOLD,

THIS WORK,

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PREFACE.

English Dramatic Poetry stands alone in the history of letters *; but while in Germany it has been enthusiastically admired and diligently studied, in this country, as if satisfied with our acknowledged pre-eminence, it has attracted comparatively little attention. Excepting only as far as was necessary for the illustration of the text of Shakespeare, the origin and progress of that art, in which he had many precursors and rivals, seem to have been thought scarcely worth inquiry.

We are therefore without any history of English dramatic poetry; for although Warton, in his progress through other departments, has touched upon

* If there be any just exception to this remark, it can apply only to the dramatic poetry of Spain. Even France might have possessed a 'romantic drama,' had the unaided and popular exertions of Hardie been followed up by other poets. That author, who for so many years, and while our Shakespeare and Spain's Lope de Vega were yet living, was the sole support of the French stage, could never have been so prolific had he checked the luxuriance of his fancy by the observance of the unities. He is said to have produced not less than eight hundred pieces of different descriptions.

that subject cursorily and incidentally, he has not attempted to trace its development and improvement to the period to which his work extends. The field of English poetry was too wide for him to dwell even upon its most remarkable productions.

This deficiency I have attempted to supply; and, as far as zeal and industry merit success, I claim to have deserved it. Thus far every man has a right to speak of his own qualifications, though I am well aware how many others are necessary for the completion of such an undertaking. To a large mass of facts that are quite new, I have been careful to add the valuable, but scattered information furnished by Warton; but it seemed to me that the dramatic poetry of this country formed of itself a department so important and interesting, as to demand to be separately and systematically examined. For England to possess the greatest dramatic poets of the world, and to be without a history of her dramatic poetry, seemed an extraordinary solecism in letters.

The present work consists of three divisions:—

I. Annals of the Stage.

II. A History of Dramatic Poetry.

III. An Account of Theatres and their Appurtenances.

In point of novelty and interest, I ought first to have treated the second of these branches; but I

thought that an enquiry into the progress of dramatic poetry ought to be preceded by such details as I could furnish regarding the public or private encouragement it from time to time received, and the state of society at particular periods when the stage either flourished or declined. The Annals of the Stage commence at the earliest period to which any records of the kind extend; and they supply facts connected with the establishment, promotion, limitation, or suppression of the theatre, as a national institution, down to the Restoration. It is admitted, that after this event our drama assumed an entirely new character. By the discovery of some valuable manuscripts, I have been able to carry back this portion of my inquiry to a more remote period than any precursor; and I have added many new and curious particulars, of a later date, to the scanty stock of knowledge before acquired.

When I commenced my researches, nearly twenty years ago, I was discouraged on all hands by those who imagined that Malone, Steevens, Reed, and Chalmers had exhausted the subject, and that, in the harvest they had reaped, they had not left even gleanings behind them. Nevertheless, seeing how many deficiencies remained to be supplied, I persevered in the collection of materials. I obtained admission into the State Paper Department, the Privy Council Office, and into the Chapter-House, Westminster, and I soon

discovered in those depositories many valuable original documents, throwing a fresh, clear, and strong light upon some of the most obscure parts of the history of our stage and drama. Among these were unopened patents to different companies of players, and original accounts of the royal revels from the early part of the reign of Henry VIII.; while the unexamined books of the domestic expenses of our Kings and nobility, from the reign of Edward IV. downwards, provided me with a great variety of novel and interesting details.

These sources of information had not been open to general search, and I was therefore not much surprised to find that a great deal had escaped discovery; but when I came to examine the manuscripts in that great national receptacle, the British Museum, to which every body could easily obtain access, I was astonished at the quantity of substantial materials which had remained there undetected. From the Burghley Papers scarcely a single fact had been procured, although nearly every volume contained matters of importance; and the Harleian, Cottonian, and Royal MSS. had been only cursorily and hastily inspected *.

* To show how little attention they had attracted, I need only mention, that among the Royal MSS. I found two of Ben Jonson's Masks, in his own hand-writing, nowhere noticed but in the Catalogue, which is itself very imperfect.

In these I met with letters from, and concerning, our most notorious poets, the predecessors and contemporaries of Shakespeare; and in a Diary, kept by an intelligent Barrister, who lived while our great dramatist was in the zenith of his popularity, I found original and authentic notices and anecdotes of him, Spenser, Jonson, Marston, and other distinguished authors of the time. It occupied me some years to go through the voluminous collections in the Museum, but I never had occasion to regret the misspending of a single hour so employed.

In the second division of my work, the History of Dramatic Poetry, I begin with Miracle-plays (hitherto mistakenly termed 'Mysteries'), as the source and foundation of our national drama; and I have, for the first time, adduced some proofs, that we were indebted for them to France. The account I have given of them contains much that was before unknown; and the whole subject, while it is curious to the antiquary, will not be found without interest to the general reader. I am not aware of the existence of any performance of the kind in our language, whatever may be its date, that I have not carefully examined. I have thence traced the connection between Miracle-plays, consisting in the outset only of Scripture characters, and Moral-plays (or 'Moralities' as they have been of late years usually denominated),

represented by allegorical personages; and I have shown how the first, almost imperceptibly, deviated into the last, by the gradual intermixture of allegory with sacred history, until Miracle-plays were finally superseded.

This view of the subject, which does not seem to have occurred to any who have gone before me, is succeeded by a similar investigation of the structure and design of Moral-plays. I have endeavoured to point out the manner in which they, in turn, gave way to Tragedy and Comedy, by the introduction, from time to time, of characters in actual life, or supposed to be drawn from it. With this purpose, I have inspected, I believe, all, and in the course of the work reviewed most of the principal Moral-plays in our language, whether printed or manuscript, commencing with those most nearly allied to the Miracle-plays they excluded, and proceeding by gradations to those which, in their form, characters, and dialogue, more or less distantly resemble Tragedy and Comedy. It will be seen, in the course of this inquiry, that in process of time their separate natures became mixed and confounded, and that ultimately, as might be expected, the real was entirely substituted for the fictitious.

The growth of Tragedy and Comedy, from their infancy until they reached maturity in the hands of Shakespeare, has next been considered. I am not

aware that I have neglected to notice any production that could illustrate the inquiry, and the extraordinary facilities I have enjoyed have enabled me to examine some dramatic performances, in this and other views of great value, which have either remained unknown, have been misunderstood, or have been passed over in silence. This part of the subject has necessarily embraced an examination of the predecessors and earlier contemporaries of Shakespeare. I have been anxious to arrive at a just estimate of them and their works, in order to ascertain how far our great dramatist was indebted to any previous models, and to what extent he deserved the praise, which Dryden was the first to bestow, that he 'created the stage among us.*' It was, in truth, created by no one man, and in no one age; and whatever improvements Shakespeare introduced, it will be seen that when he began to write for the theatre, our romantic drama was completely formed and firmly established.

The romantic drama and the classic drama, as far as relates to the disregard or observance of the unities, perhaps had their origin in the same cause, operating upon a different state of society, viz., the imperfectness and incompetence of mechanical and scenic art. While in Greece and Rome the effect was

* In the dedication to his Translation of Juvenal, 1692.

to limit the action to one place and time, so as not to offend the understandings of more refined spectators, in England appeal was made only to the imagination of a ruder auditory, which willingly believed that the same boards in the same play represented two different quarters of the globe.

I have not brought down the History of Dramatic Poetry lower than the era of Shakespeare, because nearly all the principal dramatists who followed him are well known. The works of Ben Jonson, of Beaumont and Fletcher, of Ford, Massinger, and Webster, have been separately published, and those of Marston and Shirley are in progress through the press:—upon these I could pretend to offer little that was new. I might, indeed, have enlarged upon Chapman, Dekker, Heywood, Brome, and some others; but specimens of their plays have been presented in various shapes, and they possess few characteristics to distinguish them from more notorious contemporaries. Shirley was the last of the School of Shakespeare, and he continued to write until the closing of the theatres by the Puritans, and died after the Restoration.

The third division of my subject relates to the Origin and History of our old Theatres, with as complete a view of their appurtenances, properties, and other matters connected with them, with authors, actors, and audiences, as I could procure from printed

books or manuscript authorities. Here I am bound to admit that Malone did much; but he left much undone, and, in the details he furnished, committed important errors, which subsequent inquiries have enabled me to correct. I have pointed out the site and foundation of theatres of which he confessedly knew nothing, and I have filled up various *lacunæ*, some of which he would doubtless have himself supplied, had he lived to enlarge and remodel the prolegomena to his Shakespeare. Adopting, with due acknowledgment, such materials as he and others furnished, and adding to them my own acquisitions, I have arranged the whole under distinct heads, so that the existing information upon any particular point may be referred to and examined at once. I have carefully collated all the extracts, but amid so many quotations and references, I can hardly hope that some unimportant errors do not remain.

Such is the general outline of my undertaking; and my obligations to those who have aided me in the progress of it are great and numerous.

My debt of gratitude to his Grace the Duke of Devonshire precludes the possibility of adequate acknowledgment; but I would rather be thought wanting in the due expression of my obligation, than risk the imputation that I have overstated my sense of such flattering encouragement and liberal assist-

ance. Among other singular advantages, I have enjoyed unrestricted access to that most valuable collection of plays commenced by the late John Philip Kemble, and continued by his Grace, until it now forms a complete English Dramatic Library, from the earliest to the latest date.

Lord Francis Leveson Gower is himself a poet; and with the liberality which belongs to his rank in life and in letters, he afforded me every facility in the inspection of many volumes of the utmost rarity at Bridgewater House.

Through my friend Mr. Amyot, Sir Robert Peel, then principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, gave me admission into the State Paper Office. I found that he had anticipated my purpose by ordering a collection to be made of such documents as related to the stage: that collection, however, was not completed, and my object was zealously seconded by Mr. Lemon.

By Mr. Hudson Gurney, M.P., I was favoured with the unlimited use of three manuscript Moral-plays, the earliest, and, without dispute, the most valuable specimens of the kind in our language.

To Mr. Davies Gilbert, M.P., I have to return my thanks for the gift of two curious works, printed under his direction, illustrative of the Cornish Guary Miracle; and for the opportunity of searching the

manuscripts of the Royal Society, of which he was then President.

Mr. Peregrine Townley, at the friendly instance of Mr. Gage, with alacrity placed in my hands a series of Miracle-plays, long preserved in his family, older than any other manuscript of the same description in English.

The Privy Council Registers, from the earliest date to which they extend, were opened to me by order of Mr. Greville; and he most obligingly lent me his assistance in searching the volumes of proclamations belonging to that office.

My hearty acknowledgments are also due to Sir Thomas Phillipps, whose collection of manuscripts is well known—to Mr. Douce, whose learning is as curious as it is extensive—to Mr. Markland, the learned editor of two of the Chester Miracle-plays—to Mr. Ellis, Mr. Madden, and Mr. Carlisle, of the British Museum—to Mr. Dyce, so well read in our old poetry—to Mr. Bright, who lent me an unprinted play of the utmost singularity—to Mr. Caley, keeper of the records in the Augmentation Office and Chapter-House, and to Messrs. C. and F. Devon, of the latter establishment—to Mr. Phelps, Mr. Field, and Mr. Haslewood. Of the extraordinary resources of the latter I could not extensively avail myself, as they

chiefly relate to a period of our dramatic history to which I have not brought down my present work.

Last in the list, but unquestionably among the very first in obligation, I have to name my friend Mr. Amyot, Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries. To him I am indebted, not only for much valuable knowledge, but for the means of information, by most serviceable introductions, and for the kindest aid throughout my undertaking. To all who are acquainted with him, this tribute will appear quite unnecessary.

The views, of the Globe theatre, on the title-page of Vol. I.; of Paris Garden, on the title-page of Vol. II.; and of the Swan Theatre, on the title-page of Vol. III.,—are from a Picture of London in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, compared with Vissher's Map, published at Amsterdam in the year 1616. They are more detailed and, I apprehend, more accurate, than any previous representations.

ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

Vol. I. p. 11.

'Exhibitions of a similar kind took place at Coventry, York,' &c.] I make the following extract from J. S. Burn's *History of Parish Registers*, p. 236, with the reference to which I was favoured by Sir Thomas Phillipps.

'From the old church book of Boughton Blean, Kent.'

'It. in hands Rychard Spycer for Saynt Petr. lyght viij cwys. 'Anno dni m^{lio} d xxxv^{ti} This yere Corpus Christi play was 'plaid at Boughton Strete. M^{d}. Stevy Wylls hayth cowntytt for 'the fyrst play day, iiii*l.* vs. x*d.*'

The same curious work, at p. 143, contains the subsequent, not easily explicable entry, which appears to be dramatic. It refers to the town of Loughborough, Leicestershire.

'1551 June—The Swat, called "New acquaintance, alias 'Stoupe Knave and know thy Master," began on the 24th of 'this Month.'

p. 16.

'In what respects a "disguising" differed from a "mumming" is a point not now perhaps possible to settle.'] The following minute and curious account of the mode in which 'a disguising,' both by men and women, was to be brought in and regulated on Twelfth-night, is copied from one of the Fairfax MSS., entitled, 'The booke of all maner of Orders concernynge an Erles hous,' &c., some part of which is dated 16 Henry VII., although the handwriting appears to be that of the latter end of the

reign of Henry VIII. It provides, first, that the disguising shall not come into the hall until the 'Interlude, Comedy or Tragedy' is ended: it then proceeds thus—

'The Disguisers to come in aftir this manour following, with 'iij torcheis to be borne before theim at their riding into the 'Hall, with iij yomen waiters suche as shalbe appointed by the 'Marshallis to do it.

'Furst iij yoman waiters to beir iij torchies to light them into 'the hall, and when the saide Disguisars ar comyn into the hall, 'than the saide parsonnes that berith the saide lightes to make 'their obeysaunce and departe, or ellis to stand on side, and the 'iiij minstrallis, suche as the Lord haith at that tyme, there to 'stonde in the hall before the saide disguisars com, and assoon 'as they be comyn into the hall, the minstrallis to stand aside 'and play—And than the disguisars to make their obeysaunce 'altogeder and daunce suche daunces as they be appointed— 'And when the saide disguisars hath doon their saide daunces, 'than halfe of them to stand uppon the oon side and halfe 'uppon the outher side, if there be no women. Provided al-'waies that if their be women disguised, then they to com in 'first. And if there be women disguised, then half of the 'minstrallis afforesaid to set in the outhir disguisars with the 'lightes after they have browght in the women, and they have 'daunced and their obeysaunce made, ande stande a side. And 'they to do as the outhir did before, ande than they to stande 'uppon the outher side. Alwaies the men gevinge to the 'women the prehemynence of their standnge. Alwaies pro-'vided that the minstrallis shall bring theym in, playing be-'fore thaym such daunces as they shall daunce. Ande when 'they have doon, in like cass the Morris to come in incontinent 'as is apointed, yf any be ordeynid. And when the saide 'Morris arrives in the midist of the hall, than the said min-'strallis to play the daunces that is appointid for theim. And 'when they here the said minstrallis play, than to com out oon 'aftir an outhir, as they be appointid. And when they have

'doon, to go furth inlike cass as they came into the saide towre, 'or thing devised for theim. Always reservid to the maister of 'the disguisinges to order it as he shall think best and conve- 'nient: and when the said Moris is doone, than the gentillmen 'to com unto the women and make their obeisaunce, and every 'of them to taike oon by thand, and daunce suche base 'daunces as is apointed theym; and that doon than to daunce 'such rounds as shall be appointed them to daunce togeder by 'the maister of the revills; and that doon to bring the women to 'their plaices agayne, and make their obeysaunces, and then 'departe to their owne places where they stood before.'

p. 63.

'An account of the burning of Gibson's son, in the reign of Mary.'] 'He (Gibson) violently underwent the cruel 'death of burning in the month of November with two 'more, in Smithfield, named Halingdale and Sparrow. By 'all the foregoing relation we may note the boldness and 'great ability of this man; for as he was a personable 'stout and comely man of body, so he was of vigour and 'activity of mind too.'

Strype's Eccl. Mem. iii., 413, edit. 1733.

p. 135.

'The Patent of Sir Thomas Cawarden bears date 11th March, 1545.'] In a Catalogue of the MSS. of Sir Tho. Phillipps is the following: 'Patent 36 Hen. VIII—To John Ber- 'nard appointing him Comptroller of the King's Pavilions 'and Tents and Master of the Revels and Masks—*om-* '*nium Jocorum, Revellorum et Mascorum.*' These are precisely the terms of Sir T. Cawarden's grant, and I apprehend that that to John Bernard may have preceded it; but as Sir T. Phillipps had not the MS. in London, I was unable to ascertain its precise date.

p. 136.

'After March, 1545-6, the following was the dramatic and musical establishment of the King.'] In a contemporary list of the household of Henry VIII., recently sold among the Fairfax Collection, was the following entry of a new name in the drama at that date:—

'Maker of Interludes, Comedies, and Playes—John Young 'per H[enry] 8. 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*'

p. 150.

'It is not possible always to ascertain the precise dates referred to.'] Cotton MS. *Vitellius*, F. V. is here quoted; but, since I had occasion to use it, it has been inlaid and arranged under the care of Mr. Madden, keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum. Most of the dates have now been ascertained by him with most praiseworthy industry and research, and I only regret that I had not the benefit of his labours. I do not believe, however, that I have made any important mistakes.

p. 152.

'A tract, entitled *Beware the Cat*, bearing the initials G. B. as its author.'] Those initials probably mean *Gulielmus Baldwin;* but it seems that the tract had been imputed to 'Maister Stremer,' who is mentioned in it. In one of the volumes of Proclamations, &c., belonging to the Society of Antiquaries, London, is a curious broadside in verse, headed 'A short Answere to the Boke called Beware the Cat,' which opens thus:—

'To the jentil reder harti salutacions,
'Desiring thee to knoe Baldwins straunge faschions;
'And if in aunsering I appere sum what quick,
'Thinke it not without cause: his taunts be rive and thick.

'Where as there is a boke called beware the cat,
'The veri truith is so, that Stremer made not that,
'Nor no suche false fabels fell ever from his pen,
'Nor from his hart or mouth, as knoe mani honest men.
'But wil ye gladli knoe, who made that boke in dede?
'One Wylliam Baldewine. God graunt him wel to spede.'

It proceeds in this strain throughout, and heaps upon Baldwin the coarsest terms of abuse, denying that *Beware the Cat* was written by Stremer, though how it came to be imputed to him nowhere appears. It ends (without printer's name or date) as follows:

'This miche I have writen that the trueth shold be knowen,
'And that the falsite shuld be quite overthrowen.

'FINIS.'

p. 159.

'A play, called *Holofernes*, at Hatfield.'] Among the Additional MSS. in the British Museum, is a Catalogue of the Bailiffs of Derby, from 5 Henry VIII., with incidental memoranda, among which is the following:—

'1572. In this year Holofornes was played by the Towns-'men.'

For this note I am obliged to Mr. Madden, keeper of the MSS.

p. 175.

'In the following year, 1560, the charge for the Revels, &c. was much more considerable.'] On the 10th December, 1560, Queen Elizabeth issued a warrant to the keeper of the Wardrobe, to deliver to Sir Thomas Benger, 'Master of our Revels,' a variety of silks, velvets, &c., for 'certeyne masking garmentes.' Additional MSS. in British Museum, No. 5750.

p. 239.

'On the 30th December, 1578, Thomas Blagrave was appointed chief officer of the Revels.'] In this capacity, on

the 10th Jan. 1578 (as we find by the Additional MSS. in the British Museum, No. 5750), Blagrave sent to Brydeman, the keeper of the Wardrobe, for a piece of 'black and silver stuff.' The following is a literal copy of an original unsigned note from Lord Leicester to Brydeman, dated three days earlier. It was a task of extreme difficulty to decipher it.

'Mr. Brydeman. The q wod have sent unto you her warrant for the delyverye to her officers of her Revells such paralls as shalbe specyfyed in a byll subscrybed with her hand, and bycase it is not yet certenly known or wylbe before the garments be made, what stuffe shall suffyce, I do hartely pray you to delyver to them all such stuffe as they shall requyre to have of the old store, and when all thies shalbe fornyshed, I wyll delyver unto you a byll of the partyculars, sygned with her hand, for your discharge, and so I byd you hartely well to fare.

'From the Crt. 7 Janij 1578.'

p. 319.

'It had been performed before the Queen in 1600.'] Another play, then presented, was doubtless Dekker's *Old Fortunatus*, which was printed with the date of 1600, 'as it was plaied this Christmas,' by the Lord Admiral's servants. According to Henslowe's Diary it had been written in 1595.

p. 399.

Line 2, the word *in* has dropped out.

p. 403.

'Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West* was written before the death of Elizabeth.'] This remark ought to have been limited to the *first part* of the play. The date of the *second part* is more uncertain.

Vol. II. p. 106.

'The Stage-player's Complaint in a pleasant dialogue between Cane of the Fortune and Reed of the Friars.'] I conjectured, before I saw any part of it, that this tract (consisting of only four leaves, without date) was published about 1625; but, Mr. Haslewood, to whom I am indebted for the following extract from it, all that (or perhaps more than, is worth quoting, gives it the date, no doubt correctly) of 1641. The interlocutors are called *Light* [*i.e.* Reed] and *Quick* [*i.e.* Cane].

'*Light.* Pish! I can shew thee many infallible reasons to 'the contrary. We are very necessary and commodious to 'all people: first for strangers, who can desire no better re-'creation than to come and see a play: then for citizens to 'feast their wits: then for gallants, who otherwise perhaps would 'spend their money in drunkenness and lasciviousness, do find a 'great delight and delectation to see a play: then for the learned, 'it does increase and add wit constructively to wit: then for 'gentlewomen, it teacheth them how to deceive idleness: then 'for the ignorant, it does augment their knowledge. Pish! a 'thousand more arguments I could add but that I should 'weary your patience too much. Well—in a word we are so 'needful for the common good, that in some respect it were 'almost a sin to put us down. Therefore let not these frivolous 'things perplex your vexatious thoughts.

'*Quick.* But it makes me fear, I'll assure you, in these 'times, and I think it would be a very good plot to borrow 'good store of money and then run away—What think you 'of it?

'*Light.* A good plot, quotha! so you may come to lie in a 'worser plot for it all the days of your life. S'foot! run away 'too: so you may be taken for a young *Suckling*, and then 'followed presently with a hundred horse.'

The last sentence alludes to the plot of Sir John Suck-

ling, Davenant, and Captain Billingley, and to the hundred horse Sir John had raised for the king's service.

p. 118.

'The latest infraction of the act of suppression occurred at Witney.'] In Whitelocke's *Memorials*, 633, is, however, the following entry—

'Jan. 1655-6. Players taken in Newcastle and whipped for 'rogues.'

p. 147.

'In cities and large towns.'] In some places there seems to have been a stage belonging to the town; and in Lodge's and Greene's *Looking Glass for London and England*, 1594, the father of one of the low comic characters is represented as 'keeper of the *town stage*,' or the stage used by the inhabitants for the representation of plays, either by the townsmen or by actors belonging to the town, who sometimes travelled to adjoining places to perform.

p. 196.

Last line, for *Childemas* read *Candlemas*.

p. 261.

Note †, for *Bollogne* read *Boulogne*.

p. 366.

'It appears to have formed part of a modern Latin play.'] At all events the author, whoever he might be, seems to have availed himself of one of Lucian's Dialogues.

p. 420.

'The novels, &c., he thus points out, in fact supplied most of the materials for our romantic drama.'] Gosson might have added other collections, including the 'comic stories, in prose,' by Richard Edwards, 1570, (mentioned by Warton, H. E. P., iv., 117, edit. 8vo.)

which furnished the induction to the old *Taming of a Shrew*, Fenton's *Tragical Discourses*, 1567, and several volumes of the same sort. Sir Geoffrey Fenton was a Privy Councillor in Ireland about the year 1580; and the Duke of Devonshire is in possession of a MS. of various public papers drawn up by Fenton, including, in a different part of the volume, a number of poems, most of them signed by the same individual. I have also an autograph by Fenton of a moral poem in three stanzas, of which the following is a copy. I insert it as a specimen of the talents of an author, who is not mentioned as a verse-maker by Ritson, or by any of our bibliographers.

'My silly bark that many years hath run
'In sundry seas a weather-beaten course,
'And seldom yet could find the way to shun
'Those froward gales which blow from ill to worse,
'Tween rocks and sands of late did harbour take,
'And there, God knows, a hard escape did make.

'Her broken sails, worn out with many flaws,
'Could scarcely hold the wind that gave her way,
'And both her sides, made weak with many blows,
'By subtle streams suck'd in her last decay.
'The stem, and all that to her strength did tend,
'Were brought by force unto the storm to bend.

'Oh, subtle state that mortal man lives in;
'Oh, time, so short makes vain that present hope,
'Which feeds our mind a settled life to win,
'Wherein like men we do in darkness grope!
'Then, silly bark, that hast these perils past,
'Retire thyself, and strike thy sails at last.

'Geff. Fenton.'

Fenton, even without this fresh claim, was entitled to a place in Ritson's *Bibl. Poet.*, on account of some poetical

translations in his *Tragical Discourses*, mentioned vol. i. p. 248. He seems to have been an enemy to theatrical amusements, and in 1574 translated from the French, *A Form of Christian Policy*, the seventh chapter of which, among other things, insists that 'players were cast out of the church, and that all dissolute plays ought to be forbidden.'

p. 422.

'To the same point we may quote the authority of Sir Philip Sidney.'] Among the numerous tributes by contemporary poets to the memory of Sir Philip Sydney, one, by an author of very considerable celebrity, has hitherto escaped notice :—it is by Thomas Churchyard, and it was published in the form of a pamphlet of only four leaves, under the title of 'The Epitaph of Sir Phillip Sidney, Knight, lately Lord Governour of Floshing. Imprinted at London, by George Robinson,' &c., 4to., n. d. At the back of the title are 'Churchyard's arms,' and it is followed by a prose address to Lady Sidney, the widow of Sir Philip, in which the author speaks of the great encouragement at that period given to arts and letters, and mentions that he had been preceded by some other writer, who had treated the subject 'learnedly and sententiously.' As this is a production of the utmost rarity, I will make a short quotation from it.

'A portly presence, passing fine,
'With beautie furnisht well,
'Where vertues buds and grace devine
'And daintie gifts did dwell.

'Well seene and read in divers artes,
'His works they shewe the same :
'Well travayld to in sondrie partes
'To purchase peerelesse fame.

'Brought home both language lawde and lore,
'And might the lawrell weare,
'And crownd with garland be therefore,
'And style of honour beare.

'In conscience cause and countries care,
'To bloody warres he went,
'Where lo! on murthering shot unware,
'Alas! his life he spent.

'To farre he ventred for renowne,
'To short he made his skope,
'To soone that stately stalke fell downe,
'In whom was such great hope.'

p. 428.

Note †, for *Alarum* of London, read *Looking Glass* for London.

Vol. III. p. 52.

Note *, for *plagiaries* read *plagiarisms*.

p. 69.

'*Amends for Ladies* could not have been written before 1611.'] It has been elsewhere shown, that *Amends for Ladies* is alluded to by Anthony Stafford, in his *Niobe dissolved into a Nilus*, 1611, as already in existence, so that it could hardly have been produced before 1610: it was preceded by *A Woman is a Weathercock*, by the same author, who perhaps was not so young as has been supposed, although he continued one of the Children of the Queen's Revels in 1609.

p. 93.

'The play of William Longsword by Drayton.'] The only other notice of this play I ever met with is in a MS.,

belonging to Mr. Haslewood, a copy of the brief (or 'breviat' as it is there called) on behalf of the Plaintiffs in the case of Sir H. Herbert and Thelwall *v.* Betterton, on the dispute regarding the authority of the Master of the Revels. The date of the first part of the following quotation from it, accords with the entry by Drayton himself in Henslowe's Account-book.

'Several plays allowed by Mr. Tylney is 1598, which is 62 'years since.

'As { Sir William Longsword / The Fair Maid of London / Richard Cordelyon } See the Books.

'King and no King to be acted in 1611, and the same to be 'printed.

'Hog hath lost his Pearle, and hundreds more.'

It is said, in the same MS., that the two last were 'allowed by Sir George Buck.'

p. 147.

'*Greene's Funerals* is certainly unworthy of Barnefield's pen.'] Since this was written, the sight of a copy of Richard Barnefield's *Cynthia with certaine Sonnets*, 1595, has enabled me directly to contradict the position, that *Greene's Funerals*, 1594, was by the same author. Barnefield tells the readers of his *Cynthia*, that that poem was his 'second fruit,' and that his *Affectionate Shepherd* had been his 'first;' although he had been 'thought of some to have been the author of two books heretofore.' One of those 'two books' was no doubt *Greene's Funerals*, printed with the initials R. B. on the title-page. From Barnefield's *Poems in divers Humours*, 1598, I quote the following, because it relates to Shakespeare, and because it has been misquoted by Malone (Shakespeare by Boswell, i. 482).

The writer, after praising Spenser, Daniel, and Drayton, thus proceeds:—

'And *Shakespeare* thou, whose hony flowing vaine
'(Pleasing the world) thy praises doth obtaine;
'Whose *Venus*, and whose *Lucrece* (sweete and chaste)
'Thy name in fames immortall booke hath plac't,
'Live ever you, at least in fame live ever:
'Well may the bodye dye, but fame dies never!'

p. 159.

For *sequunter* read *sequuntur*.

p. 263.

The Theatre and Curtain are mentioned together in *A Mirour of Monsters*, a tract against the vices 'caused by the infectious sight of Plays,' by Wil. Rankin, 4to., 1587. It contains no information regarding the condition of the stage and drama at that date. It has been supposed that the author was the same William Rankins who is mentioned as the writer of Hannibal and Scipio, and several other plays in Henslowe's Diary, under the date of 1600, but this is questionable. In his *Palladis Tamia*, fol. 277, Meres mentions a person of the name of Rankins, with Hall and Marston, as a satirist. In some blank leaves at the end of a MS. volume of Sermons, by Dr. Donne and others, in my hands, are inserted a number of pious and moral poems, and one page is headed 'W. Rankins of Ingratitude to God,' but the poem itself has not been transcribed. The writer of *A Mirour of Monsters*, of the Satires noticed by Meres, and of this poem, was probably the same man.

p. 268.

The Curtain Theatre.] It is termed 'The Curtain at

Holywell,' in the title of a b. l. ballad, which was sung there, and is preserved in the Pepysian Library: it is without date, and called 'The Man in the Moon drinks Claret.'

p. 313.

'Alleyn had certainly retired from the stage before 1612.'] He seems to have had some concern in the Blackfriars theatre, by the subsequent entry in his 'Journal, called The Founder's Book of Accounts,' formerly preserved at Dulwich College. It extends from 1617 to 1622.

'Oct. 22, 1617. Pd. Mr. Travise rent for the Black Fryars, '40*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*'

He had also an interest in the Red Bull, as appears by the following:

'Oct. 3. 1617. I went to the Red Bull and rd [received] for 'the Younger Brother, but 3*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*'

The subsequent items relate to the rebuilding of the Fortune in 1622.

'April 16, 1622. Dinner at the Hart in Smithfield, w^th^ the 'builders off the Fortune, 3*s.*

'May 14. Paid the first payment for the Fortune building, '25*l.*: spent 1*s.* 6*d.*'

p. 321.

For *Vennor* read *Vennard.*

p. 324.

'The Red Bull Theatre.'] The frontispiece to 'The Wits, or Sport upon Sport,' printed for Henry Marsh, 1662, represents the interior of the Red Bull Theatre, supposed to be taken from the front of the stage, the point of sight being on a level with the foot-lights. The spectators are also ranged along the sides of the stage, on which stand Falstaff and the Hostess, Claus, the French Dancing-Master, the Changeling, and Simpleton the Smith, while

the Clown, with the words *Tu Quoque*, from the play of that name, is coming from behind an arras traverse-curtain at the back of the stage. Above this traverse is another striped curtain which covers the balcony. On either side of this striped curtain are three boxes with spectators in them. Besides the foot-lights the stage is illuminated by two chandeliers, which hang from the ceiling on each side of it. I apprehend that the drawing for this plate was made on the temporary re-opening of the Red Bull, after the Restoration.

p. 335.

'Private Theatres were of smaller dimensions than public theatres.'] The two principal public theatres, in the reign of James I. and Charles I., were the Fortune and Red Bull. 'I have heard (says Gayton in his notes on 'Don Quixote, 1654) that the Poets of the Fortune and 'Red Bull had always a mouth-measure for their actors '(who were terrible tear-throats), and made their lines pro-'portionable to their compasses, which were sesquipedales '—a foot and a half.'

p. 398.

Line 18, for not *at all* without, read not *all* without.

p. 400.

'And so is now our witty Wilson.'] It may admit of doubt, whether the Wilson here mentioned, and who was connected with Henslowe's company, was not the son and successor of the Robert Wilson who was one of Lord Leicester's servants in 1574. Supposing, however, that he was twenty years old in 1574, he would only be forty-four when F. Meres wrote in 1598. In a letter signed Tho. Bayly, dated 25th April, 1581, and published in

Mr. Hunter's Hallamshire, fol. 1819, p. 59, I find a mention of Wilson as *quidam Leycestrii comitis servus.* The letter relates to theatrical entertainments before the Earl of Shrewsbury at Sheffield Castle. I have elsewhere mentioned Henslowe's entry regarding the play of *Catiline's Conspiracy* by Wilson and others, and I will here quote the whole of what Lodge says, in his *Defence of Plays*, regarding the production by Wilson upon the same subject prior to 1579, anterior to which year Stephen Gosson (whom Lodge is answering) had also written a play named *Catiline's Conspiracies.* Part of it I have before cited, but I accidentally omitted what relates to Wilson—

'Tell me, Gosson, (says Lodge,) was all your own you 'wrote there? [*i.e.*, in his *Catiline's Conspiracies.*] Did you 'borrow nothing of your neighbours? Out of what booke 'patched you out Cicero's oration? Whence fet you Catalin's 'invective? Thys is one thing—*alienam olet lucerna non tuam*, 'so that your helper may wisely reply upon you with Virgil—

"Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honores."
"I made these verses—other bear the name."

'Believe me, I should preferr Wilson's shorte and sweete, if I 'were a judge—a peece surely worthy prayse, the practise of a 'good scholler: would the wiser would overlooke that, they 'may perhaps cull some wisedome out of a player's toye. Well, 'as it is wisedome to commend where the cause requireth, so 'it is a poynt of folly to praise without desert.'

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ANNALS OF THE STAGE,

ROYAL MARINE LIBRARY.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

No country of Europe, since the revival of letters, has been able to produce any notice of theatrical performances of so early a date as England*. That notice was first published by Stow in his Survey of London, 1599, who discovered it in the *Vita Sancti Thomæ Archiepiscopi et Martyris*, by William Fitzstephen. In that work the author inserts a description *nobilissimæ civitatis Lundoniæ*, which contains the following passage: *Lundonia pro spectaculis theatralibus, pro ludis scenicis, ludos habet sanctiores, representationes miraculorum quæ sancti confessores operati sunt, seu representationes passionum quibus claruit constantia martyrum*†.

* The plays of Roswitha, a nun of Gandersheim, in Lower Saxony, who wrote at the close of the tenth century, and which are mentioned in a note by the Editor of the last edition of Warton's Hist. Eng. Poet., ii. 68, were not represented.

† There is a slight difference in the mode in which these words have been translated into English. Stow gives them thus: 'London, 'for the shews upon theaters, and comical pastimes, hath holy playes, 'representations of miracles, which holy confessors have wrought; 'or representations of tormentes, wherein the constancie of martirs 'appeared.' (Survey, 1599, p. 68.) Warton renders them compen-

It is probable that Fitzstephen wrote before the year 1182; and as Thomas à Becket was not killed until 1170, the author of his Life is speaking of theatrical performances in London, during the twelve years between those dates; which is bringing it to as near a point as we can expect to arrive at. Warton thought, from the mention of Henry III. in it, that Fitzstephen did not write his Life of Thomas à Becket until after 1216, when that King came to the throne; but Ritson has shewn that the Henry III. there spoken of was 'Henry the younger, son of Henry II., and grand-'son of the Empress Matilda, who was crowned king 'in the life-time of his father*,' and who died in 1182†. If Fitzstephen, in his Description of Lon-

diously as follows, omitting to notice the words *pro ludis scenicis:* 'London, for its theatrical exhibitions, has holy plays, or the repre-'sentation of miracles wrought by confessors, and of the sufferings of 'martyrs.' He adds in a note, that he has 'construed *sanctiores* in a positive sense,' without stating his reason for so doing. (Hist. Eng. Poet., ii. 69, edit. 8vo.) Malone elsewhere follows Warton, but calls the representations 'religious plays.' (Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 9.) The Rev. S. Pegge, who published the Description of London by Fitzstephen in 1772, translates *sanctiores* in a comparative sense:— 'London, in lieu of the ancient shews of the theatre, and the entertain-'ments of the scene, has exhibitions of a more devout kind; either re-'presentations of those miracles which were wrought by the holy con-'fessors, or those passions and sufferings in which the martyrs so 'signally displayed their fortitude.' Fitzstephen has just before referred to the state of Rome in this respect, and seems to be drawing a comparison between the public amusements there and in London.

* Ritson's note in Warton's Hist. Eng. Poet., ii. 69, edit. 8vo.

† This point is rendered still clearer by the circumstance, that

don, allude to Henry III. as still living, it would establish that he produced that part of his work prior to A. D. 1182.

It is to be inferred that these *spectacula theatralia* were then established performances; and it is known that, prior to 1119, the Miracle-play of St. Katherine had been represented at Dunstaple. This fact is proved by Matthew Paris and Bulæus: the former wrote his *Vitæ Abbatum, &c.* as early as 1240; where we are told, that while Geoffrey, afterwards Abbot of St. Albans, was yet a secular person, he was invited from Normandy by Richard, the then Abbot of St. Albans, to teach the school established there; that, in consequence of some delay, when Geoffrey arrived the vacant office had been filled, and that he, therefore, took up his residence at Dunstaple, and brought out the Miracle-play of St. Katherine:—*Legit igitur apud Dunestapliam, expectans scholam S. Albani sibi repromissam; ubi quendam ludum de S. Katerina, (quem Miracula vulgariter appellamus) fecit; ad quæ decoranda petiit a Sacrista S. Albani, ut sibi capæ chorales accommodarentur, et obtinuit* *. Matthew

Fitzstephen states that the Henry III. whom he mentions was born in London: Prince Henry, the son of Henry II., was born in London, but Henry III., who succeeded in 1216, was born at Winchester. The double reign of Henry II. and his son is noticed in the old comedy called *Looke about You*, 1600, where we meet with the following stage direction: 'Sound trumpets, enter with a herald on one side, Henry 'the Second crowned, &c. On the other part, K. Henry, the son, 'crowned,' &c.

* *Vit. Abb. ad calc. Histor. Major.* Edit. 1640, tom. i. p. 56.

Paris proceeds to relate, that on the following night Geoffrey's house was burnt, together with the *capæ chorales;* and considering it a judgment of heaven, 'he made himself a holocaust,' assumed the *habitum religionis*, and subsequently became Abbot of St. Albans.

The testimony of Bulæus, in his *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, is important in fixing the date of the representation of the play of St. Katherine. He informs us, that Geoffrey was a member of the University of Paris, and that he died in 1146, having been raised to the dignity of Abbot of St. Albans, in 1119*. It is undoubted, that he brought out the play while he was yet at Dunstaple, and before he had assumed the religious habit; so that 1119, when he became Abbot, is the nearest date which can be fixed with certainty. Warton conjectured, that the Miracle-play of St. Katherine was represented by the scholars of Geoffrey 'about the year 1110 †;' but, perhaps, it was performed even earlier, as that date would leave only nine years between his taking orders (in consequence of the fire the day after the exhibition, according to Matthew Paris) and his attainment of the highest dignity in the Monastery of St. Albans.

A. D. 1119.

* Vol. ii. p. 225. Paris, 1665.

† Hist. Eng. Poet., ii. 68. edit. 8vo. Malone, (Shakespeare, by Boswell, iii. 9,) professing to follow Warton, asserts without qualification, that the play was performed 'in the year 1110,' and he refers to Dr. Percy in confirmation, whose words on the contrary are, 'this was probably within the eleventh century.' Reliques, i. 138, edit. 1812.

According to Bulæus, this play of St. Katherine was not then by any means a novelty—*non novo quidem instituto, sed de consuetudine magistrorum et scholarum*, and from a passage in the *Annales Burtonenses* we may conclude, that in the time of Matthew Paris, or very shortly afterwards, itinerant actors were well known. Among the regulations, under date of A. D. 1258, we meet with the following remarkable expressions: *Histrionibus potest dari cibus, quia pauperes sunt, non quia histriones; et eorum ludi non videantur, vel audiantur, vel permittantur fieri coram Abbate vel monachis* *. Here the words *histriones* and *ludi* would seem distinctly to point out the nature of the performances †. One objection to these *ludi* might possibly be, that the *histriones* gave them in the popular language of the country; and it will be seen hereafter, that there is some ground for supposing that the Miracle-play of St. Katherine, and other dramatic representations, founded upon the lives of saints, and upon the events of the Old and New Testaments, at the date now referred to, were in French. A. D. 1258.

The clergy do not seem to have been unanimous as to the propriety and policy of public dramatic per-

* Gale, Rerum Anglicarum Scriptor. Vet. i., 437.

† Warton (H. E. P., iii. 41, edit. 8vo.) is of opinion, that the word *histrio* had a very wide application in the barbarous ages, including mimics, jugglers, dancers, tumblers, musicians, and minstrels; but in a note to the preceding page, he refers to this very passage from the *Annales Burtonenses*, in order to shew, that in this instance it excluded minstrels, harpers, and jugglers, and that it meant players.

formances; and we find a violent attack upon them in the *Manuel de Peché*, an Anglo-French poem, written about the middle of the thirteenth century*. Robert de Brunne's English version of it bears date A. D. 1303. in 1303, and both that and his original (but especially the latter) give a minute and distinct account of the authors of Miracle-plays, their subjects, and the circumstances under which they were usually performed. The following extract is from that division of the poem which relates to 'the fourthe dedly synne,' where the author is speaking of 'a clerk of order,' and of the amusements into which he may, or may not be allowed to enter.

Hyt ys forbode† hym yn the decre
Myracles for to make or se;
For myracles, zyf‡ you bygynne,
Hyt ys a gaderynt, a syght of synne§.
He may yn the cherche, thurgh thys resun,
Pley the resurreccyun;

* It is not at all clear to whom the authorship of the *Manuel de Peché* is to be assigned. At the commencement of the translation it is given to Robert Grossetete, who became Bishop of Lincoln in 1235; but at the end of several of the French MSS. it is claimed by William de Windinton, or Wadigton; and the body of the poem contains a story about Grossetete himself, which he would hardly have inserted had he been the writer. It is possible, that the Bishop produced the work under an assumed name. The Editor of Warton's Hist. Eng. Poet., edit. 8vo., is inclined to doubt the pretensions of Grossetete.—See vol. i. p. 62. *n.* s.

† Forbidden. ‡ If.

§ Robert de Brunne often abridges and paraphrases his original, and these four lines are an instance in point. The French copy charges

That ys to seye, how god rose,
God and man yn myght and los *,
To make men be yn beleve gode,
That he ros with flesshe and blode;
And he may pleye wythoutyn plyght †
Howe god was bore yn thole nyght,
To make men to beleve stedfastly
That he lyght yn the vyrgyne Mary.
Zyf thou do hyt in weyys or grenys ‡
A syght of synne truly hyt semys. §

the clergy with being the contrivers or inventors of Miracle-plays, and mentions how they disguised and painted their faces in them:—

'Un autre folie molt apert
'Unt les fous clers contrové,
'Ky sunt miracles apelé.
'Lur faces unt tut deguisez,
'Par viseres li farcenez,
'Ky est defendu en decré;
'Tant est greignur le peché.'

I quote from the Royal MS. 20, B. xiv., which is more full and correct than any of the four copies among the Harleian MSS.

* Strength and weakness. † *Forsan*, Condition.

‡ In the introductory matter to *The Castle of Perseverance*, a MS. Moral in the collection of Hudson Gurney, Esq., M. P., of which more will be said hereafter, the audience is expressly told that the performance will take place 'on the green.'

'These percell in propyrtes we 'spose us to playe,
'This day sevenenyt be fore you in syth,
'At N—— *on the grene* in ryal a ray.'

Here N is put for the *Nomen* of the place, which was to be inserted by the person proclaiming the performances.

In 1511, the miracle-play of St. George was acted in a croft, or field at Basingborne, and one shilling was paid for the hire of it on the occasion. See Warton, H. E. P., iv. 152, edit. 8vo.

§ The argument seems to be, that it is a sight of sin to witness the

He then quotes 'Seynt Ysodre,' to shew, that those who indulge themselves in these exhibitions forsake

'God and here crystendam *
'That make swyche † pleyys to any man,
'As myracles: * * *

performance of Miracle-plays of the resurrection or birth of Christ, 'on highways or greens,' but that they may be permitted in churches devoted to the service of God. Robert de Brunne here slurs over one of the points of his original, which runs thus:

Cum Jhu Crist, le fiz dé,
Esteit en sepulcre posé,
Et la resurrycciun
Pur plus aver devociun;
Mes fere foles assemblez
En le rues de citez,
Ou en cemiters apres manger,
Quant venunt les fous plus voluntier.
Tuz dient ky le funt pur ben,
Mes crere ne les plus pur ren.

With reference to the performances in cemeteries, here reprobated, the following is from Warton (H. E. P., ii. 73). 'As to the religious 'dramas, it was customary to perform this species of play on holy 'festivals in or about churches. In the register of William of Wyke-'ham, Bishop of Winchester, under the year 1384, an episcopal in-'junction is recited against the exhibition of *spectacula* in the cemetery 'of his cathedral.' In a note, he cites several other instances of the same kind at other places; but he expresses a doubt as to the nature of these *spectacula:* had he seen the passage in the *Manuel de Peché*, where *Miracles* are expressly called *spectacles*, his doubt would have been removed. The author of the French original is very particular in stating to what performances he refers:

Et il dist ky tel ky funt spectacles,
Cum hem fet a miracles,
Ou gus ky nous nomamez ens, &c.

* Baptism. † Such.

'Agens god thou brekest cunnaunt
'And servyst youre syre termagaunt.
'Seynt ysodre seyth yn hys wrytyng,
'Alle tho that delyte to se swyche thyng,
'Or hors, or harneys lenyth * partyl,
'Yyt have they gylt of here peryl.
'Zyf prest or clerk lene † vestment,
'That halwed ys thurgh sacrament,
'More than outher they are to blame;
'Of sacrylege they have the fame.'

This proves the practice which prevailed of lending horses, harness, and hallowed vestments from the monasteries, in order to get up Miracle-plays; which, it has been seen, was precisely the case with the performance under the care of Geoffrey at Dunstaple. The author proceeds to attack 'daunces, karols, somour games,' and concludes this part of the subject with some abuse of minstrels, 'that yn swyche thyngs delyte hem alle,' love 'nother god ne goddys hous,' and get their 'cloth, drink and meat,' by folly ‡.

* Lendeth. † Lend.

‡ In an allegorical poem, written early in the fourteenth century, representing life as a pilgrimage, and man as a pilgrim, the hero, in the course of his journey, encounters Satan, and the deadly sins. 'Gladnesse of the world' is represented as a minstrel, who invites the pilgrim to partake his pleasures:

'Telle on to me, and say not nay,
'What maner solace, or what maner play
'Loveste thou beste? tell on, late se,
'And I shall playen to fore the.'

The hero is cast into a sea of trouble in consequence of listening too patiently to the harper, but is rescued by a character called 'God's-

The writer of the French *Manuel de Peché*, particularly reprobates the performance of Miracle-plays, *en les rues de citez*, which seems to point at the performance of plays or pageants, during the festival of *Corpus Christi*. It is supposed that these were first introduced into this country in the year 1268, very shortly after the festival of *Corpus Christi* had been established by Pope Urban IV.*:

A. D. 1268.

grace,' and the cardinal virtues: he narrowly escapes 'the tower of flame' of Satan; but finally triumphs, exclaiming, 'swyche playes I defye.' Cotton, MSS. Tiberius, A. vii.

The quotations from Robert de Brunne are from Harl. MS. No. 1701.

* In Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vi. 268, the following account of the origin of the feast is given on the authority of St. Antonius, Archbishop of Florence.

'A priest, having spilt at mass some of the consecrated wine, it appeared upon the *corporale* (that is, upon the piece of linen on which the chalice and host are placed by the officiating priest) like so many drops of blood. But Diestemius, Prior of the Benedictines at Liege, tells us that the priest being staggered in his belief of the real presence, blood flowed from the host into the chalice, and upon the *corporale*. The *corporale* being brought, bloody as it was, from Bolsena, where the miracle was supposed to have happened, to Orvieto, the Pope, after examining the priest and all who were present, was convinced of the miracle, and thereupon appointed the solemnity of Corpus Christi to be annually celebrated.'

On this occasion, Urban IV. granted a pardon of a certain number of days to all who attended different parts of divine service at this festival. It is extant in Harl. MS. No. 955, under the following title:—'Here foloweth the pardon of corpus Christi fest, which is graunted bi pope urban the fourth, and bi pope martin the fift, and bi pope Eugeny the fourthe, and is witnessed bi the generall counsell of Basill.'—

It contains nothing about the representation of Miracle-plays; and,

that event occurred in 1264; so that only four years elapsed before the annual representation of Miracle-plays, at Chester during Whitsuntide, appears to have been established. Exhibitions of a similar kind took place at Coventry, York, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Durham, Lancaster, Leeds, Preston, Kendall, Bristol, Witney, Cambridge, Manningtree, and other places; and it may be conjectured, that they were originally introduced into large towns nearly contemporaneously, for the purpose of disseminating a certain degree of knowledge of Scripture history; and, as Robert de Brunne remarks, (for the observation is not found in any copy of the original I have had an opportunity of examining,) for the purpose of extending a belief in the miraculous conception of the Saviour, as well as in the resurrection.

In *Piers Ploughman's Crede*, two lines are put into the mouth of a friar minor, which advert to the performance of Miracle-plays in market towns:

'We haunten no tavernes, ne hobelen abouten;
'At marketes and Miracles we meddley us never*.'

consequently, must be different from the pardon mentioned in the 'Proclamation of the Whitsone Playes,' at Chester, dated 21 Henry VIII., as granted by Clement [VI.] for the encouragement of the performances.

* Yet in 1420, not long after this poem was written, we find a friar minor interfering at York, to procure the annual representation of the *Corpus Christi* plays, and he was then called 'a professor of holy pageantry.'—See the Appendix to Drake's History of York.

Chaucer has many allusions to exhibitions of this description, and he represents his Wife of Bath amusing herself with them during Lent, and while her husband was absent:

'Therfore made I my visitations,
'To vigilies and to processions,
'To prechings, and to thise pilgrimages,
'To playes of myracles, and to mariages,
'And wered upon my gay skarlet gites *.'

It may be doubted, whether by the word *Menestrallus*, found in accounts of household expenses, about this period, and a little earlier, something more might not be meant than a mere player upon an instrument †. In the MS. series of pageants at Chester

* It is a coincidence perhaps worth notice, that in the year in which Chaucer is supposed to have been born, 1328, 'Playes of Myracles,' as he calls them, were, perhaps, first performed in English; the conjecture, hereafter attempted to be supported, being that until then they were only allowed in French.

† Bishop Percy was of opinion that minstrels were authors and composers of songs and ballads, as well as performers of them on the harp. (Reliques, i. xxi. edit. 1812.) Ritson, on the other hand, denies the position, and probably degrades the character of a minstrel below the level it actually held in society among our ancestors. (Ancient Songs and Ballads, i. xvii. edit. 1829.) In his answer to Percy, he has displayed a vast deal more learning than candour, and the discovery of truth is sacrificed to the love of triumph. The result seems to be that neither disputant was strictly in the right; for although minstrels (most anciently called *Gleemen*), in the first instance 'united the arts of poetry and music,' yet they subsequently seem to have lost this distinction, and to have degenerated into 'mere musicians,' and performers upon instruments.

and Coventry, 'Minstrels' are not unfrequently spoken of; and there, unquestionably, their business was only to fill up intervals, or to accompany certain parts of the performance with music. As early as A. D. 1308, the Duke of Lancaster had a company *menestrallorum*, forming part of his domestic establishment *. The author of the *Manuel de Peché*, and the translator of it, Robert de Brunne, in a manner couple minstrels and Miracle-plays; but there is no evidence to prove that minstrels at any time acted, although they certainly aided in the representation.

A. D. 1308.

Robert Baston, a Carmelite friar of Scarborough, who flourished in the reign of Edward II., and accompanied that king in his expedition into Scotland, is mentioned by Bale (quoted by Warton, Hist. Eng. Poet., ii. 65, edit. 8vo.) as the author not only of Poems and Rhymes, but of *Tragœdiæ et Comœdiæ vulgares*. None of these are extant, but no reasonable doubt can be entertained that they were Miracle-plays, for Bale calls his own productions of a similar kind, 'tragedies and comedies.' Some of Baston's dramatic productions might be in existence at the time when Bale wrote, about the middle of the sixteenth century.

In the year 1333, Eleanora, the sister of Edward III., was married to Reignold Earl of Guelderland,

* *Vide* Lansdown MSS. No. 1. The cost of this establishment cannot be ascertained, as it is mixed up with other items.

and in a MS. of the receipts and payments on that occasion, and during her journey, mention is made of a *lusum in camera sua*, but in what sense we are here to take the word *lusum* is questionable. It is clear that it was not a performance of music; and in the same accounts we find frequent entries of payments to minstrels for their minstrelsies, both in the house of the Princess and elsewhere *. It is very possible that this *lusum* was some game of chance, at which the Princess lost her money.

* The following items, with a view to my present purpose, are curious. The MS. from which they are taken, was in Mr. Craven Ord's collection, recently dispersed.

	s.
'Duobus Menestrallis facientibus menestralcias suas. .	20
'Cuidam Menestrallo facienti Menestralciam suam coram Dna 'Eleonora in tenemento suo.	s. 12
'Lusum in Camera. Eccelmo Dalmaund, servienti Regis ad 'arma, per denarias per ipsum solutas diversis locis, per diversas 'vices, diversis servientibus libantibus Dnæ E. pro luso in camera 'sua.	s. 17
'Diversis vidulatoribus facientibus menestralcias suas coram 'cruce ad porticum borealem in ecclesia Sti. Pauli London, de dono 'Dnæ E.	s. 12
'Cuidam Menestrallo, vocato Bag-piper, facienti menestralciam 'suam coram Dna Eleonora, per manus proprias. . .	s. 12

Her liberality to musicians was extraordinary; and one of them, William Cardinall, is mentioned by name. She bestowed upon them many other smaller sums, and on the day she was *desponsata* she gave a largess of 20*l.* to the minstrels. She had also gentlemen and singing men belonging to her chapel, who were allowed servants and horses.

In this reign, and not long after the event just noticed, *ludi domini Regis* are mentioned. In A. D. 1348, Edward III. kept his Christmas in the 1348. castle of Guildford, and there these *ludi* were exhibited: from the nature of the materials and properties furnished, it is sufficiently evident that they were of a dramatic character. Warton gives the subsequent enumeration of them*: 'eighty tunics of buckram of 'various colours, forty-two visours of various simili-'tudes; that is, fourteen of the faces of women, four-'teen of the faces of men with beards, fourteen of the 'heads of angels made with silver; 14 *crestes cum* '*tibiis reversatis et calceatis;* 14 *crestes cum mon-*'*tibus et cuniculis*, (terms which Warton professes 'himself unable to understand) fourteen mantles em-'broidered with heads of dragons; fourteen white 'tunics wrought with heads and wings of peacocks; 'fourteen heads of swans with wings; fourteen tunics 'painted with eyes of peacocks; fourteen tunics of 'English linen painted, and as many tunics embroid-'ered with stars of gold and silver.' In all probability, as Warton suggests, these *ludi* were what were some time afterwards called in English 'disguisings†.'

* Hist. Eng. Poet., ii. 72, edit. 8vo. He quotes as his authority 'Comp. J. Cooke Provisoris Magnæ Gardarobæ, ab ann. 21 Edw. III. '(misprinted Edw. I.) ad ann. 23. Membr. IX.'

† According to Ritson (Bibl. Poet., 79), Lidgate wrote 'A *Disguising* or *Mumming* before the King at Eltham;' and he refers to Harl. MS., No. 2255, which however contains no such production. In a 'disguising' perhaps speech was allowed. Strutt (Sports and Pastimes, 223) seems to make no distinction between them; but speaks of

In 1389, the 12th Richard II., a similar entertain-
A. D. ment was got up for the amusement of the
1389. King and his Court; the entry in the wardrobe accounts being—'*pro* 21 *coifs de tela linea pro homi-*'*nibus de lege contrafactis, pro ludo regis tempore* '*natalis Domini, anno* xii *.' How far and in what respects a 'disguising' differed from a 'mumming' is a point it is not now, perhaps, possible to settle: in a MS. 'Chronicle of English affairs, especially those 'relating to the city of London, from 1st Rich. I., to
A. D. 21st Henry VI.,' under date of 1401, is
1401. inserted the following paragraph: 'In this 'yere was here the Emperor of Constantinople and 'the Kyng helde his Christemasse at Eltham, and men 'of London made a gret mummyng to hym of xii 'Aldermen & here sones, for whiche they had gret 'thanke †.' There is little doubt that a mumming

the abuses that crept into them, which, in the reign of Henry VIII., led to the passing of an Act 'that no persons should appear abroad like 'mummers, covering their faces with vizors, in disguised apparel, under 'pain of imprisonment.' 3 Hen. VIII., c. 9. It will be seen hereafter that, while Henry VIII. was on the throne, 'disguisings' were extremely common at court, as indeed they had been in the reign of his predecessor. In the interlude of *The Nature of the four Elements*, printed early in the reign of Henry VIII., after a list of the characters, we find these words added, 'Also yf ye lyst ye may brynge in a dysgysynge,' but where, and for what purpose, is not explained. It was, probably, a mere dumb show of persons dressed in fantastic habits.

* Warton states, that this entertainment was given in 1391, but the entry expressly states that it was at Christmas, in the 12th Rich. II. The 'Comp. Magn. Garderob. Rich. II.' appears to be dated in 1391, which led to the error.

† MSS. Harl. No. 565.

was usually a dumb shew*, and we hear of mummings at a considerably earlier date than that last quoted. Stow mentions instances in 1236 and 1298, and gives a very detailed account of an exhibition of the kind in the streets of London in 1377, 'for the disport of the yong prince Richard, son to the blacke prince†.' It is also noticed, though with greater brevity, in a MS. Chronicle in the Harleian collection, recently printed by the Society of Antiquaries‡.

The performance of Miracle-plays at Chester probably commenced, as has been observed, in the year 1268; but it is not until more than a century afterwards that we find any trace of similar representations in London. In 1378, the scholars, or choristers of St. Paul's cathedral presented a petition to Richard II., praying him to prohibit some ignorant and inexperienced persons from acting the History of the Old Testament, to the great prejudice of the clergy of the church, who had expended considerable sums for a public representation of plays

A. D. 1378.

* Mr. Phelps, whose name as a literary antiquary is well known, communicated for my use the particulars of the Mumming still continued in Gloucestershire at Christmas. This exhibition certainly partakes of the nature of a Miracle-play, with the characters of Herod, Belzebub, and others; but I apprehend that they were comparatively modern insertions, perhaps adopted after Miracle-plays ceased to be represented, and while the people still relished the sight of 'the tyrant King' and the Devil.

† Stow's Survey, 1599, p. 71.

‡ Archæologia, vol. xxii. Under the care of Thomas Amyot, Esq., the treasurer of that Society. It is Harl. MS. No. 6217.

founded upon that portion of Scripture at the ensuing Christmas*. These ignorant and inexperienced persons were, perhaps, tradesmen and artificers, who in country places, at a very early period, so occupied themselves at Whitsuntide; and as we have no trace that in London such shews were ever undertaken by persons of this class, the interference of the public authorities might have prevented the experiment both then and subsequently.

This restraint, if it were imposed, obviously did not apply to the parish clerks of London, who had been incorporated by Henry III., and who, as Warton remarks, were at that day justly to be considered 'a literary society,' if they did not come precisely under the denomination of a religious fraternity. Stow† informs us that in 1391, the parish clerks of London performed a play at Skinner's Well, near Smithfield, in the presence of the king, queen, and the nobles of the realm, which lasted for three days‡.

A. D. 1391.

* Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 24.

† Survey of London, 1599, p. 69.

‡ The following items from Rolls in the possession of the Rt. Hon. Lord Stafford, at Stafford Castle, (politely forwarded to me by W. Hamper, Esq. of Highgate, near Birmingham) refer to revels in London, in 15 Richard II.

	s	d
Solut. Johanni Allot de rewardo pro servicio suo in hospitio dni [Comes Stafford] London tempore magni Revell. post festum Sci Michaelis	6	8
Et solut. Dno Roberto Mauvesyn pro costag. suis in servicio Dni [Comes Stafford] London tempore supradicto dci Revell.	s 20	

Three other persons obtained 13*s.* 4*d.* each, for their services on the same occasion.

The MS. Chronicle, before cited with regard to the mumming in the presence of Henry IV. and the emperor of Constantinople, contains also the following passage under date 1409: 'This A. D.
'yere was a pley at Skynners Welle, which 1409.
'endured Wednesday, Thorsday, Fryday, and on
'Soneday it was ended. Thanne beganne the fetees
'of werre in Smythfield for diverses chalanges.' Stow in his Chronicle is more particular, and asserts that the performance occupied eight days:—'This yeere
'(1409) was a great play at the Skinners Well, neere
'unto Clearkenwell, besides London, which lasted
'eight daies and was of matter from the creation of
'the world: there were to see the same the most
'part of the nobles and gentles in England; and
'forthwith after began a royall justing in Smithfield
'betweene the Earle of Somerset and the Seneshall of
'Henalt, Sir John Cornwal, Sir Richard of Arundel
'and the son of Sir John Cheyney, against other
'Frenchmen*.' The expression used by Stow, that the great play was 'of matter from the creation of the world,' indicates sufficiently clearly, that the performances were a series of dramatic representations founded upon Scripture.

In 1416, the Emperor Sigismund was in England,

* Stow's Chronicle, p. 549, edit. 1615. He does not state his authority; and in Cotton MS. Vitell. A I (containing 'the names of the Maires, and Shrevis in the City of London' in the reigns of Edw. III., Rich. II., Hen. IV., V. and VI.,) 'the great pley at Skynners Welle' is noted as the chief event of the year 1408.

having arrived for the purpose of endeavouring to
A.D. make peace between this kingdom and France.
1416. He was magnificently received and entertained at Windsor; and a chronicle in the Cottonian Collection* gives a description of a performance before him and Henry V., on the incidents of the life of St. George. The representation seems to have been divided into three parts, and to have been accomplished by certain artificial contrivances, exhibiting, first, 'the 'armyng of Seint George, and an Angel doyng on his 'spores [spurs];' secondly, 'Seint George ridyng and 'fightyng with the dragon, with his spere in his hand;' and, thirdly, 'a castel, and Seint George and the 'Kynges daughter ledyng the lambe in at the castel 'gates.' Here we have clearly the outline of the history of St. George of Cappadocia, which often formed the subject of a miracle-play; but whether, in this instance, it was accompanied with dialogue, or was merely a splendid dumb shew, assisted by temporary erections of castles, &c., we are not informed. The wardrobe accounts of Henry V. do not supply us with any information regarding this or other similar representations†.

It is perhaps worth remark, that John Lydgate, who,

* Cotton MS., Calig. B. II.

† They were in Mr. Craven Ord's collection. In the 9th year of Henry V., as we learn from the same MS., Will. Egleston, Thomas Pykbone, Will. Heringe, John Laurence, Will. Newman, and Thomas Hanton, were 'boys of the Queen's Chapel;' and they were paid 40s., for wages for half a year, and 10s. by way of reward.

in his poem called 'The Daunce of Macabre,' introduces members of all classes of society, as summoned by Death and making a reply to his summons, while he brings forward minstrels and tragitours, or juglers, says nothing of players: he even mentions John Rykell, tragitour of Henry V., by name*, which may be thought to fix the period at which 'The Daunce of Macabre' was written. Yet Lydgate was himself the author of a series of pageants or Miracle-plays†; and in a work written at a subsequent date, which is generally known by the title of 'The Interpretacyon of the names of Goddys and Goddesses‡,' but in fact an

* Harl. MS., No. 116. There is another imperfect copy of this poem in the British Museum; and in the catalogue it is erroneously stated to be a dramatic performance. It is, in fact, only a series of inscriptions for a succession of pictures representing the Dance of Death. Death says to the Minstrel,—

'O! thou mynstrall, that canst so *note* and *pipe*
'Unto folkes for to do pleasaunce,'

which may serve to shew that, in the time of Lydgate, minstrels were composers of music, as well as performers upon instruments; and so far support Bishop Percy. To John Rykell, who is introduced as the representative of the class to which he belonged, Death says,—

'Maister John Rykell, sometyme tregitoure
'Of noble Henry kynge of Englonde,
'And of Fraunce the myghty conqueroure,
'For all the sleightes and turnyngs of thyne honde,
'Thou must come nere this daunce to understonde,' &c.

A tragitour was a performer of tricks of sleight of hand; and Rykell, in his answer to Death, laments that 'Lygarde de mayne [legerde-'main] now helpeth me right nought.'

† Ritson, Bibl. Poet., 79; the reference he gives to Harl. MS. No. 2255 does not bear him out.

‡ Dr. Dibdin (Typ. Ant., ii. 322) assigns the printing of this poem to

elaborate allegory upon human life, assailed by vices and defended by virtues, he does mention the profes-

to Wynkyn de Worde, on the authority of Herbert; but it was certainly also from the press of Pynson; and this edition was sold among Kemble's books. An imperfect copy of it was in the hands of Mr. Rodd of Newport-street. In the manner in which the story is conducted, it is very dramatic; and from its variety it is far less dull than most pieces of the kind: that it is picturesquely written may be judged from the following description of the seven principal leaders on the side of Virtue, in her contest with Vice:—

'Next to the chare seven capteyns there roode,
'Echone after other in ordre by and by.
'Humylyte was the fyrst, a lambe he bestroode,
'With contenance demure he rood full soberly;
'A fawcon gentyll stood on his helme on hy:
'And next after hym came there Charyte,
'Rydyng on a tigre as fyll to his degre.

'Roody as a roose ay he kept his chere;
'On his helme on hyghe a pellycan he bare:
'Next whom cam Pacyence, that no where hath no pere;
'On a camell rydyng as voyde of all care;
'A fenix on his helm stood, so forth gan he fare.
'Who next hym folowed but Lyberalyte,
'Syttyng on a dromedary that was both good and fre.

'On his helme, for his crest he bare an ospray:
'And next after hym folowed Abstynence,
'Rydyng on an herte was trapure and gay;
'He semed a lorde of ryght grete excellence:
'A popynjay was his crest, he was of gret dyffence.
'Next hym folowed Chastyte on an unicorne,
'Armed at all poyntes behynde and beforne.

'A tortyldove he bare on hyghe for his crest.
'Than came Good Besynesse, last of tho seven,
'Rydyng on a panter, a sondry coloured best,
'Gloryously beseen, as he had come from heven:
'A crane on his hede stood, his crest for to steven.
'All these vii capteyns had standardis of pryce,
'Eche of hem accordyng after his devyse.'

sion of 'a player:' it is where Virtue says, that Sensuality must change his character, like an actor:—

'Is he so? qd Vertue.—Well shall he be taught,
'As a player sholde.'

The reign of Henry VI. may be fixed upon as the epoch of the adoption of a new species of dramatic representation, which was afterwards known by the name of a Moral: its nature and construction is examined in that part of the present work which relates to the Origin and Progress of Dramatic Poetry in this country. Malone was of opinion that the first Moral (or Morality, as he miscalls it) did not appear until the reign of Edward IV.*; but three pieces of this description are extant, which are at least as old as the period when Henry VI. was on the throne, and perhaps belong to the earlier part of his reign†.

The profession of an actor about the period now referred to was probably common, and itinerant companies of players seem to have been well known. One of the manuscript Morals just mentioned, (*the Castle of Perseverance,*) was represented by persons who

* Shakespeare, by Boswell, iii. 30.

† They were formerly in the collection of Dr. Cox Macro, and are now in the possession of Hudson Gurney, Esq., M. P., who at the instance of my friend, Mr. Amyot, readily obliged me with the unrestricted use of them. It will be seen that in the proper place I have examined the construction of these very singular performances with the attention and minuteness they deserve.

made it their business to travel round the country for the purpose. Whenever they arrived in a populous district, they despatched their standard-bearers and trumpeters to announce on what day, and at what hour, the performance would take place. The annual accompt-roll of the Augustine Priory of Bicester, in

A. D. 1431. Oxfordshire, cited by Warton, shews that, in the year 1431, the minstrels of different nobility, Lord Talbot, Lord Strange, Lord Lovel, the Duke of Gloucester*, &c., visited the priory; but *ministralli* is the word there invariably used: in the accounts, however, of the Augustine Canons of Maxtoke in Warwickshire, anterior to the year 1461, the terms *mimi* and *lusores* constantly occur. Warton has not inserted the particular dates of his extracts, but he states that none of them are later than the reign of Henry VI †. *Citharistæ* and *joculatores* are also words employed in the same accounts; but they probably mean nothing more than harp-players and

* The Duke of Gloucester had an Italian poet in his pay in 1437, named Titus Livius de Frulovisiis de Ferraria. He was naturalized in that year. Rymer's Fœd., iv. Part I. p. 37.

† The following are among the entries.—Warton, H. E. P., i. 94. edit. 8vo.

'Mimis de Solihul 6d
'Mimo Domini Ferrers 6d
'Lusoribus de Eton 8d
'Lusoribus de Coventry 8d
'Mimis Domini de Astley 12d
'Mimis Domini de Warwyck 10d
'Sex mimis Domini de Clynton .....
'Lusoribus de Coleshille ..... 8d.'

juglers: *jocatores*, which is likewise found there, may point at something more dramatic.

A short poem, in the Harleian Collection, 'partly 'English and partly Latin, on the dissoluteness of 'manners temp. Henry VI.' (as it is entitled in the catalogue), may be adduced to shew that the performance of 'plays,' especially on 'God's holidays,' was then so frequent as to be considered by the writer a crying evil. The author says,

'Inglond goith to noughte, *plus fecit homo viciosus*,
'To lust man is brought, *nimis est homo deliciosus;*
'Goddis halidays *non observantur honestè*,
'For unthryfty pleyis *in eis regnant manifestè*.'*

We do not find from any record that players of interludes were in the pay of Henry VI.; but, in 1445, the minstrels belonging to the household were

* There are two copies of this satire in the Harleian Collection, viz. Nos. 536 and 941. As it is a curious and early specimen of this species of composition, and bears internal evidence of its date, a few lines, ridiculing the preposterous dress of men of the time, may be worth extracting:

'Thei bere a new faccion, *humeris in pectore tergo*,
'Goddes placinacion *non illis complacent ergo:*
'Wyde colers & hygh, *gladio sunt colla parata*,
'Ware the prophesy *contra tales recitata.*
'Longe spores on here heles, *et rostra fovent ocrearum*,
'Thei thinke it doith welle, *non sit regula Sarum.*
'A streite bende hath the hose, *languent a corpore crura*,
'Thei may not, I suppose, *curvare genu sine cura.*
'Whan other kneelis, *pro Christo vota ferentes*,
'Thei stonde on here helis, *sed non curvare volentes*,
'For hurtyng of here hose *non inclinare laborant*,
'I trow for here longe toes, *dum stant ferialiter orant.*'

twelve in number, and they were permanently engaged for the amusement of the court*. They are mentioned under the name of 'the Kyng's Menstralys' in the accounts of John Lord Howard, from the second to the ninth year of Edward IV.†

* This fact appears in Lansd. MS., No. 1, among 'the Provisions made for the King's Household,' 23 Henry VI. The terms of the entry are these: 'xii. menistrealx, one Le Gaite,'—Le Gaite, probably, being at the head of them. Ten years afterwards the 'ordinances and appointments' for the royal household were concluded at the great Council at Westminster; and at that date Thomas Ratclyffe, William Wickes, John Clyffe and Robart More belonged to the company of minstrels. *Vide* Cotton. MS., Cleop. F v.

† A very curious MS., lately in the collection of Mr. Craven Ord. The entry is as follows; and it is to be observed that, both here and elsewhere, I have ordinarily substituted Arabic for Roman numerals, as more convenient.

'Item, my Lord of Clarence owyth hym 20*s.*, the which he lent hym 'to geve to the Kyng's menstralys att the meyry's house. 20*s.*'

That is to say, the Duke of Clarence borrowed 20*s.* of John Lord Howard, in order to present it to the King's minstrels, at an entertainment given at the house of the Mayor. From a vast variety of singular entries in the same volume I select the following, connected with the amusements of the court and people at this date:—

'Itm, gaff to a chyld that sang beffore my lorde, 4*d.*

'Itm, my mastyr toke to my lords bydding, the nexte morow, after 'new yers day, to my ladys graundamys harpere that dwellyth in 'Chester, 3*s.* 4*d.*

'Itm, geven to a Pryste that said a song afore my mastyr that nyte 'at Lincolne, 4*d.*

'Itm, geven to a harper there, 1*d.*

'Itm, for 2 bokys, a Frensch boke and a Ynglysh boke, calyd *Dives* '*et Pauper*, 13*s.* 4*d.*

'Itm, my mastyr paid for his costes, and for his mennes in tyme of 'the Justes at Westminster, 14*s.*

'Itm

Before I quit the reign of Henry VI., it is necessary to mention, that it may be collected from the chartulary of the Guild of the Holy Trinity of St. Botolph without Aldgate, that that Society, between the years 1443 and 1448, was, or had been engaged in the performance of Miracle-plays in London*: at least, at that period it had in its possession a 'rolle of velom,' containing what is called 'the Pagent of the Holy Trinity;' and as it is added, that it was 'paynted and lemenyd with gold,' we may conclude that it was an illuminated MS. Pageant and play were constantly used synonymously, and this 'rolle' was, no doubt, some dramatic piece in the nature of a Miracle-play on the subject of the Trinity†. A. D. 1443.

Early in the succeeding reign we meet with the first legislative enactment which mentions 'players of interludes:' it is the 3 and 4 Edward IV., which regulates the apparel to be worn by different classes of society, and contains a special exception in favour of henshmen, pursuivants, sword-bearers to mayors, messengers, minstrels and 'players in their enterludes.' In the rolls of Winchester College for A. D. 1464.

'Itm, the 21 day of Apryll my mastyr gaff to the waytes at Col-
'chester, 1*s.* 4*d.*'

* See Hone's 'Ancient Mysteries Described,' pp. 84 and 85.

† This fraternity was incorporated as early as 1375, 48 Edward III., and in the first instance it does not appear to have been engaged at all in dramatic representations. It is possible that the pageant of the Holy Trinity devolved into its possession, and that the fraternity never assisted in the performance of it.

1466, persons of this profession are called *interludentes*, in an entry of the payment of 4*s.* to '*iiij interludentibus et J. Meke, citharistæ*,' who accompanied them as their minstrel.

The Antiquarian Society of London possesses two MSS. of the reigns of Edward IV., Edward V., Richard III., and Henry VII., which contain some very valuable information connected with this inquiry. The first of these is the Household-book of John Lord Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, from the year 1481 to 1483: it is thus headed—'The Boke off dayly percellis be-'gonne the xx^ti^ yere off kyng Edward the iiij^th^ and 'the xxiij day off Feverer: wyche lastyth unto the 'xiiij^th^ day off Octobre in the xxij^ti^ yere off the Rayng 'off the sayde kyng Edward: and also Reckenynges 'for the goying into Skotlande.' In this curious volume I have met with no notice of 'players' under that denomination, nor indeed under any other that can be considered at all distinctive of the profession of an actor; but the items regarding 'Minstrels' are not unfrequent. Lord Howard had, indeed, four 'children of the chapel' attached to his own domestic establishment, and they might possibly be employed both in performing interludes and in singing*. The

A. D. 1481.

* The subsequent entries of various dates, in the years 1481 and 1482, relate to musicians, minstrels, and the children of the chapel. Others to the same purport might have been extracted.

'Payd the waytes of London 12*d.*

'Itm

second of these two highly valuable relics, extending from 1483 to 1501, is thus entitled on the outer cover: 'An account of the disbursements of John Lord 'Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, about his 'private affairs in the reigns of King E. 4, E. 5, 'R. 3, H. 7;' and within, in a handwriting of the time, we read the following introduction to the various items: 'This Booke of the dayly parcells paid by 'the handis of my Lord Howard, bygonne the ij 'day of August in the xxij yere of kyng Edward the 'Fourthe.' Not a few of the particulars are interesting in an historical point of view, and among them may be reckoned a statement of the force of 1000 men, which the Duke of Norfolk 'graunted to the Kyng,' Richard III., in the first year of his reign. Here also is found much that is curious in relation to the stage, for we meet among others with an entry of money paid to the 'players' of the Duke of Gloucester, before he ascended the throne as Richard III. The 'Players of Cocksale,' the 'Players of Chelmsford,'

'Itm that I toke to the trompetes of my Lord of Glocester, 5*s.*

'Itm that I toke my lady wiffs minstrels, 3*s.* 4*d.*

'Itm I toke to Thomas the harpere, that my lord gaff hym, 20*l.*

'Itm to Necolas, the synger, for wages, 6*s.* 8*d.*

'Itm the same day my lord gaff to James the mynstrell, 20*d.*

'Itm be my ladys handes to my Lord Mares mynstrells, 3*s.* 4*d.*

'Itm to the menstrellis for mendyng of a lewte, 2*s.* 4*d.*

'The Children of the Chappel. Itm paid to Steven Mortimer for 'making of their doblets, 3*s.*

'Itm for 4 peere of hosen for the children of the Chappel, 6*s.*

'Itm my Lord payd for 4 bonetts for the chyldryn of the chappell, '2*s.* 8*d.*'

and the 'Players of Lanam,' or Lavenham, are also mentioned; and not among the least singular items is the entry of a covenant between the Duke of Norfolk and William Wastell of London, Harper, in which the latter undertakes to teach a boy (no doubt intended for the Duke's chapel) to sing and to play upon the harp. Disguisings, and rewards for minstrels are also noticed in this account-book, which seems to have been carefully inspected by 'Jocky of Norfolk' himself, whose handwriting is in several places to be found*.

* Malone makes no mention of 'players' (excepting in the case of the 'City Actors' in the reign of Edw. IV. spoken of by Stow) as a distinct and recognized occupation prior to the time of Henry VII., who, he justly remarks, had a royal company (Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 43.) Richard III. when Duke of Glocester, had, as we see above, a company of 'players,' and in all probability, he kept up the establishment when he ascended the throne. The names of the Duke of Norfolk's 'players' were these: John Hobbis, Thomas Pout, —— Burges and Richard Newman, and there are also entries for the cost of making doublets for them. The same MS. gives the following as the *nomina puerorum Capellæ* of Lord Oxford, who, we shall hereafter observe, very early in the reign of Henry VII., had a company of 'players,' and perhaps the boys of the chapel sometimes acted with them:—John Herbet, William Holcott, John Holme, Thomas Alderson, Roger Berton, James Hoggys, Jorge Cornere, John Feney, Ric. Robkyn, John Bendysh, Thomas Crowde and Thomas Ordell. The ensuing quotations from John Lord Howard's Household-book, from 22 Edw. IV. to 6 Hen. VII., will be read with interest.

'Itm on Crystemas day' [22 Edw. IV.] 'my lord gaff to 4 pleyeres 'of my lord of Gloucestres, 10*s.*

'Itm the same day my lord gaff to 4 pleyers of Cocksale, 3*s.* 4*d.*

'Itm the fyrst day of Jenever, & the 22 yere of the Kyng, my Lord 'gave to them of the Chapell be the hands of Bawdwyn, 13*s.* 4*d.*

'Itm

The following minute regulations regarding the minstrels and children of the chapel of Edward IV., are from a MS. in the British Museum*.

'Mynstrells 14; whereof one is verger, that directeth 'them all in festivall daies to their stations, to blow- 'ings, pipings, to such officers as must be warned to 'prepare for the King and his household att meate 'and supper; to be the more readie on all services,

'Itm to the mynstrells the same day, 2*s*.

'Itm the same daye my Lord made covenaunt with William Wastell 'of London, Harper, he shall have the sone of John Orlet of Colches- 'ter, Harper, for a yere to teache hym how to harpe & to synge, for the 'which techynge my lord shall geve hym 13*s*. 4*d*. and a gown, wherof 'my lord to hym in ernest, 6*s*. 8*d*. and at the ende of the yere he shall 'have the remnaunt & no gown, and he is bound be endenture to my 'lord to performe the covenaunts before wreten.

'Itm to an Arper that playde befor my lords grace, 20*d*.

'Itm payd to my lord of Arundels mynstrellys the 20 day of Sep- 'tembre Anno 6 R. H. VII., 10*s*.

'Itm payd for settyng of a pese on the organs the sayd day, 8*d*.

'Itm stuff for dysgysars on sayut Stevens day, Anno 6 Henry VII., 16*d*.

'Itm payd for 18 yards of lynen cloth that M. Wynthorpe had for 'dysgysyng, at 4*d*. the yard, the 20 day of December, 6*s*. 8*d*.

'Itm payd the second day of Januar, A°. 6 H. VII. to John Long 'when he went to London for the dysgysing stuff, for his costs, 20*d*.

'Itm payd to the players at Chemsford the 20 day of December, '6*s*. 8*d*.

'Wages to the chyldren of the Chapell. Itm the same day my 'lord paied to Agnes Banyerd that she leid owt for 3 chyldren of the 'chapell to howsell them with all, that is to say gret Dyke, Edward 'Cherry, 6*d*. Item to Holt, 4*d*. &c. 18*d*.

'Itm in reward to the players of Lanam 40*s*.'

* MSS. Harl. No. 610.

'and all thus sytting in the hall togeather, wherof 'some use trumpetts, some shalmes, some small pipes, 'some are stringemen, coming to the court at five 'feastes of the yeere &c. and clothyng with the house-'hold, wynter and sommer, or 20*s.* a peece and lyverie 'at Court. They are to blowe to supper and other 'revells used at chaundry, and allwaie two of theis 'persons to continue in Court in wages, being pute to 'warne at the King's rideing, when he goeth to horse-'back, as it shall require. And likewise the King 'will not for his worshipp that his minstrells be too 'presumptious, nor too familiar to aske any reward 'of the lord of the land. Children of the Chappell '8, founden by the King's Jewell Howse for all 'things that belong to their apparell, by the oversight 'of the Deane, or the Mr. of the songe assynde to 'teache them &c.; & he to drawe theis children as 'well in Schoole of facet, as in songe, organies or such 'other vertues &c. Allso when they be growen to the 'age of 18 yeres, and then theire voyces be chaunged, 'they cannot be preferred in this chappell, nor within 'this Court, the nomber being full, then yf they will 'absent, the King signeth onelie such child to a col-'ledge of Oxford or Cambridge of the King's foun-'dacion, there to be in findeinge and study sufficient-'lie, till the King otherwise list to advance him*.'

* On the 4th of April, 1469, Edward IV. constituted the following minstrels attending the Court *unum corpus et una communitas perpetua*:—Walter Haliday (Marescallus), John Cliff, Robert Marshall, Thomas Grene, Thomas Calthorn, William Cliff, William Christean,

The 'Master of the song assigned to teach' the children of the Chapel in 1467, was Henry Abyndon; and in 1482, Gilbert Banastre *, who each had an annual salary of 40 marks. These facts appear by the Acts of Resumption of those years, from which the above musical instructors are excepted.

We learn also from Harl. MS. No. 610, that the charge of the King's *Garçons du Capell* was 80*l. per annum.* In the reign of Edward IV. (the precise year is not mentioned,) Robert Grene, minstrel, and John Hawkyns, minstrel, each obtained grants of ten marks a year out of the Crown lands †; and we shall see that they continued in the same capacity in the early part of the reign of Henry VII.

Hitherto, there is no reason for supposing, that the musicians and singers employed by the court were foreigners, but in the reign of Richard III. a number of Austrian and Bavarian minstrels were in

William Eynesham; and the instrument recites the injury done to them by pretenders who travelled about the kingdom receiving rewards as the King's Minstrels. Rymer's Fœd., v. Part II. p. 169. Harl. MS. No. 642, a copy of the household regulations of Edw. IV., states that the wages of the minstrels was 4½*d.* per day, and that they were allowed two servants to carry their instruments. Of the Children of the Chapel, it is said, that when journeying with the King on progress, they were to be allowed four-pence per day for horse-hire: six of them, with the master, were to accompany the King.

* Gilbert Banastre, or Banister, was a poet of some note in his day, and among other things wrote *The Miracle of St. Thomas.* Warton, H. E. P. ii. 449, edit. 8vo.

† Harl. MSS., No. 433.

this country. In October, 1483, Henryke Hes, Hans Hes, and Mykell Yonger, 'minstrels,' had a letter of passage to return to the Duke of Austria, their master; and in March of the same year, a permission of the like kind was given for Conret Snyth and Peter Skeydell, 'minstrels,' to return to the Duke of Bavaria*.

A.D. 1483.

Thus we see that Richard III., when Duke of Gloucester, entertained a company of players as his servants, and he probably gave great encouragement to the science of music. There exists a remarkable proof of his partiality to it; for, on the 16th of September, in the second year of his reign, he issued a most arbitrary order for impressing singing men and children, even from cathedrals, colleges, chapels, and houses of religion, for the purpose of affording him amusement†.

* Harl. MSS., No. 433.

† Subsequent monarchs were not reluctant to follow the precedent thus, perhaps, for the first time set. But *vide* Rym. Fœd., v. Pt. II. 66. The instrument itself, a warrant to John Melyonek, one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel, is extant in Harl. MS., No. 433. It is as follows:—

'Ric. &c. To all and every our subjects, as well spirituell as temporell, thise letters hering or seeing, greeting. We let you wite, that for the confidence and trust we have in our trusty and welbeloved servaunt, John Melyonek, oon of the gentilmen of our chapell, and knowing also his expert habilitie and connyng in the science of musique, have licenced him, and by thise presents licence and give him auctoritie, that within all places in this our reame, as well cathedral churches, coliges, chappells, houses of relegion, and all other franchised and exempt places, as elliswhere, our colege roial at Wyndesor reserved and exept, may take and sease for us and in our name al such singing

Richard III. seems also to have been the first of our kings who appointed a royal Bear-ward, to diversify the court entertainments; and the warrant appointing John Brown to this office especially recites the 'diligent 'service' he had done the King, as the ground for granting him the privilege of wandering about the country with his bears and apes, and receiving the 'loving benevolences and favours' of the people*.

We learn from Fitzstephen that, as early as the reign of Henry II., the baiting of bears by dogs was a popular game in London; but, if a keeper of the

'men and children, being expart in the said science of musique, as he 'can finde, and think sufficient and able to do us service. Wherfore, &c. 'Yeven, &c., at Notingham, the xvj day of September. A° secundo.'

* Harl. MSS., No. 433. I shall make no apology for quoting this document, connected as it is with the amusements of the time:—

'Ric. &c. &c. To all Maires, Shireffs, Bailliefs, Constables, and other 'oure true liegemen and subgects, to whom these oure present letters shall 'come greting. Knowe ye that for the good, true and diligent service 'which our trusty servant and BareWard, John Broune, this berer, hath 'doone unto us, Wee have made, ordeyned and constituted, and by 'these presents make, ordeyne and constitute the said John Broune, 'Maister, Guyder, and Rieler of all our Beres and Apes to us apper-'teynyng or in any wise belonging within this our realme of England 'and Wales. Wherfore we streitly chardge and commaund you, that 'ye in no wise unquiete, moleste, vexe or trouble him, nor his servaunts, 'kepers of our said Beres and Apes, but to him, and the keper of our 'said game for our pleasure, ye shewe your lovyng benyvolences and 'favors, and them curtesly ressarve and entreate for your reasonable 'money payements, not suffering any manner persone, in that ye goodly 'may, otherwise to vexe, moleste or greve, than shall appertene and be 'thought convenyent and resonable in that parte. As ye entende to 'please us and to eschewe the contrarie. Yoven, &c., the vj day of 'January, A° primo.'

King's bears and apes were known before the reign of Richard III., I am aware of no earlier record of his existence as a licensed court officer. At subsequent periods he is constantly mentioned.

It perhaps deserves remark, that in a proclamation issued on the 7th of May, 1485, for the encouragement of shooting with the long bow, enumerating various 'inhibited disports,' theatrical amusements are not referred to: the games forbidden by name are, 'carding, dising, boling, playeng at tenys, coyting, and 'pikking.' A similar proclamation had been issued by Edward III., in 1349, and by Richard II., in 1389: but, at that early date, any notice of dramatic performances could hardly be expected *.

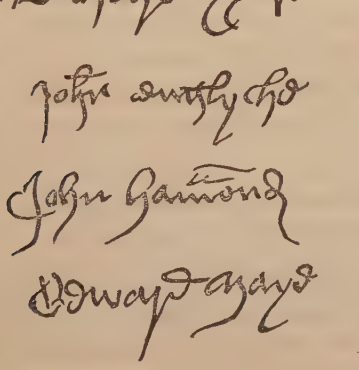
In the reign of Henry VII., dramatic performances must have been frequent in all parts of England. The King had two distinct sets of players; his 'players of interludes,' and the Gentlemen of the Chapel, who appear to have performed always during the festivities of Christmas, and perhaps at other seasons. In the Chapter-house, Westminster, is an unbound MS. book of payments out of the Exchequer, beginning at Michaelmas, 9 Henry VII., in

A. D. 1485.

* Henry VIII., on 5th of May, 1526, and December 4th, 1528, issued orders of the same tenor. The games forbidden by him were 'bowling, closshe, coyting, loggetting, playing at tenys, dice, cards and tables.' On the 18th of June, 34 Henry VIII., William Griffith obtained a licence under the privy seal to keep 'a tennys play' for the amusement of foreigners; but the King's natural born subjects are expressly forbidden, in the instrument, to frequent this tennis-court. The original document is in the Chapter-house, Westminster.

the hand-writing of a person of the name of Stokes, who was one of the Tellers under Lord Dynham, the Lord Treasurer: it contains an entry of the precise sum paid half-yearly to John English, Edward Maye, Richard Gibson and John Hammond, who are styled the 'players of the King's interludes;' and they signed with their own hands the receipt for the money. This remarkable and novel record is in the following form, under the date of Easter Term, 1494.

'xvij Die Maij. John Englissh, Edwardo Maye, 'Rico Gibbeson & John Hammond, Lusoribus Regis, 'alias, in lingua Anglicana, les *pleyars of the kyngs* 'enterluds, de feodis suis V mrc p Ann: le home, 'per lre Regis de privato Sigillo dormant de termino 'Michaelis alt: pte rec: denar: separatim p manus 'proprias ——— x mrc.



These four persons were, in fact, 'the King's players,'

of whom Malone thought himself fortunate to discover a mere notice, under that appellation, in a book in the Remembrancer's office *: by what is given above, we not only learn their names, but the precise amount of their salaries and the mode in which it was paid; and in order that the matter should be clearly understood, the words *Lusoribus Regis* being liable to misinterpretation, it is added, that they were called in English the 'players of the King's interludes.' Entries to the same persons are found in the same book every half year: each man [*homme*] was allowed five marks or 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum; and at Michaelmas and Easter, the four players received half the sum of twenty marks, to which they were entitled for the whole year. Richard Gibson, whose name will hereafter frequently occur, was probably at the head of the company, and although he is not introduced first in the entry, his name stands first among the signatures. In the Lansdown Collection of MSS.† is one with the following title, 'A Declaration of monies 'paid into and disbursed out of the Exchequer, from 'Easter the 20 Henry VII. to Easter 21 Henry VIII.' which contains the following entry, where Gibson only is named.

'To Richard Gibson, and other the Kings plaiers, for their annuity for one year 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*'

John English, however, was doubtless a performer of eminence, and when Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry VII., was sent into Scotland on her marriage

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 43. † No. 156.

with James IV., he was the principal member of a company of players forming part of the retinue of the Princess *. He continued to receive his salary of five marks, or 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* after Henry VIII. came to the crown, and in documents of that reign he is individually mentioned. Some time after the birth of Prince Arthur, in 1486, there was a company of performers under the name of 'the Princes Players,' who were required in their turn to contribute to the amusement of the Court.

Before we leave the book of Exchequer payments deposited in the Chapter-house, it may be fit to state that it contains items of half-yearly payments to the King's and Queen's minstrels. A musician of the name of Alexander Mason, under the title of *Marescallus Ministrallorum*, was at the head of the King's minstrels at Easter 1494†; but at Easter 1495, he seems to have been superseded by Henry Glasebury, who received 9*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* in part payment of 17*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* allowed to him and his three associates for the whole year. The entry regarding the Queen's minstrels specifies their names, *viz.* John Fawkes, Marcus Lory-

* Warton's Hist. Eng. Poet. iii. 90.

† The names of the other minstrels are found in another volume of payments from the Exchequer, in the 1st, 2d, 7th and 8th years of Henry VII.: it is also preserved in the Chapter-house, and is bound. They were Robert Greene, John Hawkyns, Thomas May, William Greene, Henry Swayn, Thomas Spence, and William Davy. Two other minstrels, named Marcus Jaket and William Elder, were separately paid, and do not seem to have belonged to the company under Mason, the *Marescallus Ministrallorum*.

don and Jenyn Markassen. They were allowed 10*l.* a year for their salaries. In the same book is a charge of 2*l.* to a person called 'Hugo Standish, Notary,' for assisting the preparations *ad certos revelliones*, at Whitehall, on the 30th June, 1496. Disbursements at various dates are also entered for silks, velvets, cloth of gold, &c. which were probably used for the 'disguisings' at Court; but the items are not sufficiently explicit, to enable us to decide that they were actually employed for such a purpose: they never amount in any one sum to more than 25*l.*

This valuable account-book is deficient in information regarding the officers and ministers of the Royal Chapel, although it mentions nearly all the other persons of the household. It is ascertained, however, from other sources, that, during the twelve days of Christmas, some of the Gentlemen of the Chapel played before the King and his Court, and received rewards under the name of 'the players of the Chapel,' as distinguished from the King's and Princes companies of 'players of interludes.' The master of the children of the Chapel was a distinguished musician, of the name of William Cornyshe, who, if not a poet, wrote some rhymes, which he called 'a Treatise between Trowth and Enformation*,' and who signed

* In 1504, in consequence, as he asserts, of false information given by an enemy, Cornyshe was confined in the Fleet Prison; and he wrote the 'Treatise' noticed in the text, in order to restore himself to favour with 'King Harry,' as he familiarly calls the sovereign. It was, no doubt, attended by the desired result, for, not very long afterwards, his

several of the receipts for payments from the Exchequer, as evidenced by the records in the Chapter-house, Westminster.

One principal source of our knowledge of the progress of theatrical amusements at this period is the Household-books of Henry VII., yet preserved, which extend from the year 1492 to 1509. An account of the disbursements by and for his Queen has also recently been discovered, which throws some additional light upon the subject. Hence we find, that besides the three royal establishments of actors before mentioned, the players of the Duke of Buckingham and of the Earls of Oxford and Northumberland performed at court, and received various rewards. It appears, likewise, that companies of players were attached to the following places: London, Coventry, Wycombe, Mile-end *, Wymborn

name occurs again among the Gentlemen of the Chapel who played before the King. In 1530, was published a Collection of Songs, with the Score, by Cornyshe and others.— See *Ritson's Ancient Songs*, i. 73, new edit.

* Mile-end Green seems to have been long afterwards a favourite place for theatrical and other exhibitions. In 'the *Three Lordes and Three Ladies of London*,' 1590, Policy thus addresses Pomp:—

'Lord Pomp, let nothing that's magnificall,
'Or that may tend to London's graceful state
'Be unperfourmed—as showes and solemne feastes,
'Watches in armour, triumphes, cresset-lightes,
'Bonefiers, belles, and peales of ordinance.
'And, Pleasure, see that plaies be published,
'Maie-games & maskes with mirth & minstrelsie;
'Pageants & school-feastes, beares & puppit-plaies:
'My selfe will muster upon *Mile-end-greene*,
'As though we saw, & feard not to be seene.'

This

Minster, and Kingston. The players of Essex were twice paid, and the French players appeared the same number of times before the King: perhaps (as Malone* has remarked) the French players were brought into England by Henry VII., who resided abroad from 1471 to 1485. The 'Minstrels of France' are also mentioned; 'disguisings,' 'revells,' and 'plays' in the hall and before the King, are often entered; Walter Alwyn, —— Peche (who filled the office of court-fool), John Atkinson, Jaques Haute, —— Wentworth, and Lewis Adam, being successively employed to prepare and superintend the court entertainments. In the seventh and tenth years of Henry VII., a person of the name of Ringley filled the office of Abbot of Misrule: it is afterwards usually designated as the Lordship of Misrule †, and then the duties were discharged by William Wynnesbury.

There are evidently some differences in the accounts of the domestic expenses of the King and royal family at this period. The volumes preserved in the

This passage is a singular enumeration of the popular out-door amusements of the time.

* Malone seems to have seen no more of this curious register than is quoted by Dr. Henry in the appendix to Book vi. of his History of Britain: the extracts there given apply only to the ninth and thirteenth years of the reign of Henry VII. He therefore only speaks of 'the French players,' 'the players of London,' 'the King's players,' and 'the players that begged by the way.'

† The terms Abbot and Lord of Misrule seem to have been used ndifferently towards the close of the reign of Henry VII.; and at Christmas, 1509, Wynnesbury is again called 'abbot of misrule.'

Chapter-house, Westminster, appear to be fair and official copies of books kept by individuals belonging to separate departments; and the entries in the latter are sometimes more circumstantial than in the former. I have met with a small one, kept by Robert Fouler, including only one year, viz. from October, 17 Henry VII., to October, 18 Henry VII., which contains the following items: it will be observed presently, that they do not precisely accord with the larger books, where it was meant that the details should be preserved in a regular and permanent shape. A. D. 1502.

'Oct. 26.—Itm, paid to John Atkynson for the 'disguysyngs, 53*l.* 3*s.* 10½*d.*

'Itm, to Cornysshe for 3 pagents, 20*l.*

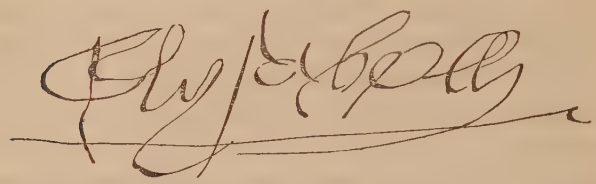
'Itm, to John Englishe for his pagent, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

'Jany. 1.—Itm, to the Kinges players, over 40*s.* 'paid by Thomas Trollop, 20*s.*'

Each pageant was, no doubt, a distinct play, and 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* was the sum allowed on the performance of every piece. What office Fouler filled is not stated, but the same players were paid from two different sources, of one of which he had the control, and Thomas Trollop of the other.

Another valuable document, of a similar description, is preserved at the Chapter-house, Westminster: it is the book of the expenses of Elizabeth, wife of Henry VII., kept by a person of the name of Richard Decons for one year, beginning the 24th March,

1502*; and it is authenticated by the Queen's signature, of which the following is a fac-simile,



upon every page in the earlier part of the time. She seems to have given separate rewards to players when they afforded her unusual satisfaction; and to have paid for the coats of various minstrels and trumpeters at a 'disguising,' whether they were attached to herself, to the King, or to some of the nobility. The details of the information procured from the various sources above enumerated I have thrown into a note; and I apprehend, that it will not be found too long, although it wander a little from the immediate subject of inquiry, to afford a clearer insight into the manners and amusements of the times †.

* This very curious historical record is about to be published entire, with valuable notes and illustrations, by N. H. Nicholas, Esq.

† The following quotations are selected from many more in the Household Book of Henry VII., from the seventh to the twentieth year of his reign, both inclusive, in the Chapter-house, Westminster:—

		£.	s.	d.
7 Henry VII. Jan. 1.	To my Lorde of Oxon pleyers, in rewarde	1	0	0
Feb. 15.	To Wat Alyn [Walter Alwyn] in full payment for the disguysing made at Xmas	14	13	4
Oct. 24.	To Ringley Abbot of Misrule	5	0	0

Warton has expressed an opinion that 'plays on general subjects were no uncommon mode of enter-

		£.	s.	d.
7 Henry VII.	Jan. 1. To Newark for making of a song	1	0	0
	.. 7. To my Lorde of Northumberlande Pleyers in rewarde . .	1	0	0
8 Henry VII.	Sep. 24. To hym that had his Bull baytid, in rewarde . .	0	10	0
	Nov. 16. To Walter Alwyn for the Revelles at Cristmas . .	13	6	8
	Jan. 1. To four Pleyers of Essex in rewarde . . .	1	0	0
	.. .. To the Pleyers of Wymborne Minster . . .	1	0	0
	.. 6. To the Frenche Pleyers for a rewarde . . .	1	0	0
	.. .. To the King's Pleyers for a rewarde . . .	2	13	4
	.. 15. To my Lord of Bedfordes Tumbler in rewarde . . .	0	13	4
	Feb. 15. To Walt. Alwyn in full payment for the disguysing made at Xmas.	14	13	4
	June 1. To Peche for the disguysing in rewarde . . .	26	14	0
9 Henry VII.	Dec. 31. To 3 Pleyers of Wycombe in rew.	0	13	4
	Jan. 4. To the Frenshe Pleyers in rewarde	2	0	0
	Feb. 13. To Jaks Haute in full payment of his bill for his disguysings .	13	10	6
	.. 20. To a Walsheman for making of a ryme . . .	0	10	0
	.. .. To the tumbler upon the rope in rewarde . . .	0	3	4
10 Henry VII.	Nov. 27. To Hampton of Woucestre for making of balades, in rewarde .	1	0	0
	.. .. Delivered to Jakes Haute in partye payment for the disguysing .	10	0	0

tainment in the royal palaces of England, at least in the commencement of the fifteenth century;' and he lays particular stress upon the word 'plays' used in

		£.	s.	d.
10 Henry VII.	Dec. 23. To Jakes Haute for the disguysing	10	0	0
	.. 28. To two Pleyes in the Hall .	1	6	8
	Jan. 10. To Ringley Abbot of Misrule in reward . . .	2	0	0
	.. 24. To Jakes Haute in full payment for the disguysing to Estermes .	6	17	6
	Feb. 7. To my Lord Suff, my Lord Essex, my Lord Willm and other for the disguysing . .	40	0	0
	May 9. To an Italian, a poete .	1	0	0
11 Henry VII.	Oct. 13. To Master Peter, the Poete, for a Currer of Florence in rewarde .	1	0	0
	Jan. 7. To a litel mayden that daunceth	12	0	0
12 Henry VII.	Dec. 3. To my lady the Kings moder poete	3	6	8
	Feb. 4. To my Lord Prince poete in rewarde	3	6	8
	Aug. 11. To my Lord of Oxon Bereward .	0	4	0
	.. .. To my Lord of Oxon Joculer .	0	6	8
13 Henry VII.	.. .. For three stryng mynstrells wagis	5	0	0
	July 20. To the pleyers of London in rewarde	0	10	0
	.. .. To a tumbuler at my Lord of Bathes	1	0	0
14 Henry VII.	June 14. To the Maygame at Grenewiche .	0	4	0
	.. .. To the pleyers with Marvells .	4	0	0
	.. .. To the Printers at Westminster .	1	0	0
15 Henry VII.	Dec. 31. To a Spaynard that tumbled before the King in rewarde . .	0	10	0
16 Henry VII.	July 23. To John Atkinson in full payment of his reckennings for the disguysings	37	17	4½
	Aug. 6. To the Pleyers at Myles End .	0	3	4
17 Henry VII.	Dec. 4. To the Rymer of Scotland in rewarde	6	13	4
	Jan. 7. To John Englishe the Pleyer .	0	10	0
	June 18. To Anthony Verard for 2 bokes called the gardyn of helth .	6	0	0

'an old memoir of shews and ceremonies' at Court in 1489. It must be remarked, however, that the same

		£.	s.	d.
18 Henry VII. Jan. 2.	To the Abbot of Mysrule in rewarde	6	13	4
.. ..	To the Pleyers of Essex in rewarde	1	0	0
.. 20.	To Lawrence Master of the Tumblers	5	0	0
April 12.	To Lewes Adam that made disguysings . . .	10	0	0
Nov. 11.	To Rychard Pynson the Prynter in rewarde . . .	1	0	0
19 Henry VII. Jan. ..	To litell mayden the tumbler .	1	0	0
.. ..	To Vonecorps the tumbler in rewarde	1	0	0
Oct. 4.	To Wat the luter that played the fole	0	13	4
20 Henry VII. Jan. 12.	To the Abbot of Mysrule in rewarde	6	13	4
May 20.	To the Players of Kingeston toward the bilding of the churche steple in almasse . .	0	3	4
July 25.	To the Gentylmen of the King's chapell to drynke with a bucke .	2	0	0

It is not always easy to fix the precise dates of these payments, nor is it much of consequence that they should be given, as they cannot add to the facts. Among the entries without date may be mentioned 6*s.* 8*d.* paid 'to a preste that wrestled,' and 10*l.* paid 'to the Quenes grace for the disguysing.'

The subsequent quotations are from a folio in the Chapter-house, Westminster, with the following title, 'The Kyngs boke of paymentis, begynnyng primo die Oct^{i} A^{o} 21 Regis Henrici VII^{mi}.'

		£.	s.	d.
21 Henry VII. Jan. 1.	To the Styll Mynstrells .	4	0	0
.. ..	To the Quenes Mynstrells in rewarde	2	0	0
.. ..	To Master Barnard the blynde Poyett	5	0	0
.. ..	To the players that played afore the Lord Stewarde in the Hall upon Sonday nyght . . .	0	6	8
.. ..	To my lorde Princes players that played in hall on new-yeres even .	0	10	0

appellation of 'plays' was often given to the old pageants founded upon the stories of the Bible, in the

		£.	s.	d.
21 Henry VII. Jan. 1.	To Stephyn Hawse for a ballet that he gave to the kings grace in reward	0	10	0
.. ..	To the four players of the kings chapell	6	13	4
.. ..	To the Lorde of mysrule in rewarde	6	13	4
Feb 20.	To the strange Mynstrells that played afore the king in rewarde	6	13	4
.. ..	To Guyllam the prenter of bokes in rewarde	1	0	0
May 22.	For settyng uppe of the May-pole at Westm.	0	6	8
	To 5 straunge Mynstrells that played afore the King in rewarde	2	0	0
	For prentyng of 1000 Orisons at I*d. ob* the pece for masse bokes	6	5	0
22 Henry VII. Dec. 25.	To the Players that played affore the Lord Stewarde in the Hall opon Tewesday nyght	0	10	0
.. ..	To Pynson that gave the king a boke	0	6	8
Jan. 16.	To 4 players of the Chapell that played affore the king open 12th day at nyght	2	0	0
.. 23.	To the Lorde of mysrule for his besynes in Cristenmes in rewarde	6	13	4
May 11.	To the Bereward in rewarde	0	6	8
23 Henry VII. Oct. 4.	To 6 Mynstrells of Fraunce that played affore the kings grace at Habyngdon	2	0	0
Dec. 31.	To master Wentworth towards the making of a disguysing for a moryce	6	13	4

reign of Henry VI., if not earlier; so that no argument can be drawn from the employment of that term

		£.	s.	d.
23 Henry VII. Jan. 2.	To master Empson for the men of London	2	0	0
.. 7.	To the 5 gentelmen of the King's Chapell that played in the Hall opon 12th nyght affore the kings grace in rewarde	6	13	4
.. ..	To the Lorde of mysrule in rewarde for his besynes in Crestenmes holydays	6	13	4
24 Henry VII. Dec. 19.	To Wynnesbury towards the payment of his lordship of mysrule	2	6	8
.. ..	To Mr. Kyte Cornisshe and other of the chapell that played affore the king at Richmounte	6	13	4
Jan. 2.	To my lorde of Buckingham's pleyers that playd in the Hall at Grenewich	0	6	8
Jan. 7.	To diverse of the King's chapell that played affore the King opon 12th nyght	2	13	4
.. ..	To the Kings players, in rewarde	2	0	0
.. ..	To the Abbot of Mysrule, in full payment for his besynes in the Cristemes tyde	3		8

The book of expenses of Elizabeth, wife of Henry VII., is thus headed:—'Thies are the paymentes made by Richard Decons from 24th day of Marche Anno xvij^{mo} unto ——;" the date to which the account was carried, March xviij^{mo} Henry VII., not having been inserted. It contains the items which follow:—

		£.	s.	d.
March 24.	Delivered to John Goose my lord of York's fole, in rewarde for bringing a carppe to the Quene	0	1	0
April 6.	To William Worthy, otherwise called Phip, for the bourde of William the quenes fole for the moneth of March	0	2	0

in the time of Henry VII*. The *Ludus Coventriæ*, the MS. of which was written in the reign of Henry VI.,

		£.	s.	d.
Aug. 28.	To the Quenes mynstrells in rewarde .	2	0	0
Oct. 16.	To my lady Bray for money by hur geven in rewarde to a Disare that played the Sheppert before the quene . . .	0	3	4
Dec. 7.	To Robert Matheue, taillor, for making of 4 coots of white and grene sarcenet for 4 of the Kinges Mynstrells against the dysguysing in the last yere last passed at 2*s* the cote 8*s*. Itm for making of 4 cots of white and green sarcenet for 4 of the Kinges trumpetts at 2*s* the cote, 8*s*. And for making of 3 cots of sarcenet for 3 mynstrells, oon my lord princes, another of my lord of Yorkes, and the third of the Duke of Bukkingham at 2*s* the cote 6*s*. Sma .	1	2	0
Dec. 25.	To Cornisshe for setting of carrall upon Cristmas day in reward . . .	0	13	4
.. ..	To the Quene of Scotts Mynstrells . .	0	10	0
Jan. 20.	To a mayde that came out of Spayne and daunced before the Quene in rewarde .	2	13	4
Geven on New yere's day—				
	To the Quenes Mynstrells . .	1	6	8
	To the Lorde of Mysrule . .	1	0	0
	To the Mynysters of the Kinges chapell .	2	0	0
	To my Lord prive sealls foole . .	0	3	4

* It is found in the folio account book of the expenses of Thetford Priory, from the reign of Edward IV. to the 31st of Henry VIII. The mention of 'plays' and 'players' does not begin until the 13th of Henry VII.; but 'Minstrels' and 'Waytes' are often spoken of as receiving rewards from the convent. The following entries, regarding 'plays' and 'players,' occur between the 13th and 23d of Henry VII.:

13 Henry VII. Itm sol. in regard 12 capital plays . 4*s*

.. .. .. Itm sol. to menstrell and pleyers in festo Epiphie . . . 2*s*

is called a 'play' in the speech of the Vexillator; and the Morals in the Macro MS., the transcript of which is of about the same date, are also there called 'plays.' In fact, according to all the testimony that has yet been procured, 'plays on general subjects' were a later invention—unknown, even in Latin, until the reign of Henry VIII. Polidore Virgil (who published the three first books of his work *De Rerum Inventoribus*, in 1449) uses the word *comœdias*, as applied to the vernacular dramatic representations in his time; but he qualifies it by stating distinctly that he refers to the *vitas divorum ac martyria*, which were recited *in templis* *. The extracts from the books of payments of Henry VII. show, that he saw the 'Marvells' or Miracle-plays at Coventry, and that the players of 'Wymborn Minster' acted before him a piece, doubtless of the same description: the most minute of the entries in the Household-books of that reign speak of the 'pageants' exhibited at court in 1502. At that date a 'pageant' was only another name for a play; and the greatest improvement at which the dramatic art had yet arrived was the performance of Morals. Warton has himself noticed the representation of the Miracle-play called *Christi Descensus ad Inferos*, before Henry VII., in 1487, by the *Pueri Eleemosynarii*

19 Henry VII.	Itm sol. to the play of Myldenale	12*d*
21 Henry VII.	Itm sol. in regard lusoribus et menstrell	17*d*
23 Henry VII.	Itm sol. in regard lusoribus div. vices	3*s* 4*d*
.. .. ..	Itm sol. in regard to Ixworth play	16*d*
.. .. ..	Itm sol. in regard to Schelfanger play	4*d*

* Lib. v., c. 2.

of Hyde Abbey and St. Swithin's Priory*. When we read in the statement of the expenses of the Queen, in this reign, that she gave a reward to 'a Dysare,' for playing 'the Sheppert,' the meaning doubtless is that this *Disour*, or jest-teller, performed the part of one of the shepherds, when the Miracle-play of the appearance of the star in the east was acted at court in October 1502. It was, perhaps, one of the four 'pageants' then exhibited by Cornyshe and English, mentioned in the quotations from the Household-book of Henry VII., from October, 1502, to October, 1503†.

* Malone (Shakespeare, by Boswell, iii. 24) has pointed out the error Warton committed in supposing that this was the only instance of choir-boys performing Miracle-plays.

† A Moral by Skelton, called *The Nigramansir*, was played before Henry VII. at Woodstock, prior to 1504, when it was printed. This piece is now lost; but Warton saw it in the collection of Collins, the poet, and he has fortunately left the following account of it in his Hist. Engl. Poet., iii., 185, edit. 8vo.:—

'I cannot quit Skelton, of whom I yet fear too much has been already 'said, without restoring to the public notice a play or Morality, written 'by him, not recited in any catalogue of his works, or annals of English 'typography; and, I believe, at present totally unknown to the anti-'quarians in this sort of literature. It is, *The Nigramansir, a morall 'Enterlude and a pithie, written by Maister Skelton laureate, and plaid 'before the king and other estatys at Woodstoke on Palme Sunday.* It 'was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in a thin quarto, in the year 1504. 'It must have been presented before King Henry VII. at the royal 'manor or palace at Woodstock, in Oxfordshire, now destroyed. The 'characters are a Necromancer or Conjuror, the Devil, a Notary 'Public, Simonie, and Philargyria or Avarice. It is partly a satire 'on some abuses in the church; yet not without a due regard to de-'cency and an apparent respect for the dignity of the audience. The 'story or plot is the trial of Simony and Avarice: the Devil is the

In Hearne's edition of Leland's Collectanea, 1770 *, Warton found an old memoir of shews and ceremonies at court, in 1489. The manuscript itself is in the Cottonian Library, but Hearne omitted the particular reference. Malone, for the same reason, was obliged to content himself with Hearne's account

'judge, and the Notary Public acts as an assessor or scribe. The 'prisoners, as we may suppose, are found guilty, and ordered into 'hell immediately. There is no sort of propriety in calling this 'play The Necromancer; for the only business and use of this cha- 'racter is to open the subject in a long prologue, to evoke the Devil, 'and summon the court. The Devil kicks the Necromancer for waking 'him so soon in the morning: a proof that this drama was performed 'in the morning, perhaps in the chapel of the palace. A variety of 'measures, with shreds of Latin and French, is used; but the Devil 'speaks in the octave stanza. One of the stage-directions is *Enter 'Balsebub with a berde*. To make him both frightful and ridiculous, 'the Devil was most commonly introduced on the stage wearing a 'vizard with an immense beard. Philargyria quotes Seneca, and St. 'Austin; and Simony offers the Devil a bribe. The Devil rejects her 'offer with much indignation; and swears by the *foule Eumenides*, and 'the hoary beard of Charon, that she shall be well fried and roasted 'in the unfathomable sulphur of Cocytus, together with Mahomet, 'Pontius Pilate, the traitor Judas, and King Herod. The last scene 'is closed with a view of Hell, and a dance between the Devil and the 'Necromancer. The dance ended, the Devil trips up the Necro- 'mancer's heels, and disappears in fire and smoke.'

Notwithstanding this very minute account of a production so remarkable, Ritson (Bibl. Poet., 106) expresses his entire disbelief of its existence. Those who are not prepared to charge Warton with deliberate and elaborate forgery must be convinced, that *The Nigramansir* once had existence, and probably still exists, although it has entirely disappeared.

* Vol. iii., Appendix, p. 256.

of it; but I was fortunate enough to meet with it in the British Museum *, though, after the minute details of the charges for Court entertainments at this period, already supplied from domestic accounts of the royal family, the information it contains sinks into comparative insignificance. As, however, it refers to a date not included in the Household-books, it deserves extracting. The author may be concluded to have been a herald, from the manner in which, on every occasion, he specifies the amount of the largesses given by the King, Queen, and nobility to the officers at arms, either praising their liberality or blaming their parsimony. 'On the xiith day' (he says, speaking of the year 1489) 'the ambassatours of Spayne dyned 'at the Kyngs borde, and the officers of armez had 'ther largess as they were accustomed. This cristmas 'I saw no disgysyngs, & but right few plays; but 'there was an Abbot of misrule, that made much 'sport & did right well his office, and on the morn 'the King rode to Waltham forest a hunting.' Further on he tells us that on Candlemas-day 1490, 'at 'nyght the kyng, the qwene, and my ladye the kyngs 'moder came in to the Whit hall, & ther had a pley;' and during the festivities of Christmas he observes, 'on neweres day at nyght, there was a goodly dis-'gysyng, and also this cristmas there were many & 'dyvers pleyes.'

It has been seen, that while the King and Prince

* It is Cotton. MS. Julius B. xii.

had three companies of actors, the custom among the nobility of keeping retainers of the same description had become very general. The players of Lord Ferrers, Lord Clinton, the Duke of Glocester, (afterwards Richard III.) and of the first Duke of Norfolk, have been before noticed, and to these are now to be added (besides the many companies of performers attached to particular towns and cities) the players of Lords Oxford, Northumberland and Buckingham. Acting, in fact, had become an ordinary occupation in 1509; but notwithstanding the patronage extended by the nobility to players, it seems not to have been considered by any means a respectable vocation. Wynkyn de Worde printed a tract (without date, but in all probability before the death of Henry VII.) called *Cocke Lorells* Bote*, which mentions both minstrels and players, and places them in company, which may, perhaps, show the light in which they were each then viewed. Cocke Lorell summons persons of all classes to go on board his ship of fools; among them, A. D. 1509.

* In S. Rowland's *Martin Markall, his Defence and Answer to the Bellman of London*, 1610, Cock Lorell is enumerated second in a list of rogues by profession, and he is thus described:—

'After him succeeded, by the general council, one Cock Lorrell, the 'most notorious knave that ever lived. By trade he was a Tinker, 'often carrying a pan & a hammer for shew, but when he came to a 'good booty, he would cast his profession in a ditch, and play the 'padder.' Three or four tinkers of this description open the old play called *Common Conditions*, and do in fact 'cast their profession in a ditch,' to play the part of foot-pads, and to commit a robbery.

'Fruyters, chese mongers & *mynstrelles*,
'Talowe chaundlers, hostelers, & glovers,'

which proves, if proof were necessary, that minstrelsy was still looked upon as a regular occupation. The companions of players in this tract are by no means so reputable:—

'Chymney swepers & costerde mongers,
'Lode men and bere brewers,
'Fyshers of the see and muskel takers,
'Schovyl chepers, gardeners & rake fetters,
'*Players*, purse-cutters, money batterers,
'Golde washers, tomblers & jogelers,
'Pardoners, kynges bench gatherers *,' &c.

* This satire is in the Garrick collection, and it is supposed to be unique; the greater misfortune, because it is imperfect at the commencement. Dr. Dibdin (Typogr. Antiq. ii. 352) does not attempt to assign a date to it. It is mentioned in a MS. poem in the Bodleian, called *Doctour Double Ale*:

'I holde you a grota,
'Ye wyll rede by rota,
'That ye may wete a cota,
'In *cocke lorels bota*.'

The Rev. Mr. Hartshorne, not being aware perhaps of the allusion, misprinted it *cocke loscls bota*. Ancient Metrical Tales, p. 243. The only other mention of *Cock Lorels bote*, that I remember, is in John Heywood's 'Epigrams upon three hundred Proverbs.'

'A busy body. 189.
'He will have an ore in every mans barge,
'Even in *cocke lorels barge*, he berth that charge.'

I quote from an edition of 1566, not mentioned by Ritson, and with only 'Londini, 1566,' on the title page, without the name of any printer. Ritson says, that the 'sixth hundred of Epigrams' was first added to the copy of 1576, but it was subjoined to this edition with the following notice—'Whereunto are now newly added a sixte hundred of Epigrams, by the sayde John Heywood.'

It is not, however, quite clear, that by the term 'players,' the author is to be understood to mean players in interludes. The same word occurs in the title of a work printed by Pynson, probably very shortly afterwards, called 'The churche of yvell men 'and women wherof Lucyfere is heed, and the mem-'bres is all the players dissolute and synners reproved.' Here 'the players' would seem to point at the particular class of persons then engaged in the performance of theatrical representations; but the tract is an invective against the use of cards and dice, 'the players' meaning only gamesters. It represents the Devil establishing a Church of his own in opposition to the Church of Christ, and the author makes a parallel between the offices, habits, books and furniture of the two: the Devil's cardinals are 'the great lordes, the officers and all the prelates,' who do not suppress unlawful games: his bishops are gentlemen burgesses and merchants who encourage them; and his canons and curates, 'hostelers and taverners,' who keep 'bordelles, taverns, sellers, & hote houses dissolute*.'

* This tract is of extreme rarity, and it is clear that neither Herbert nor Dr. Dibdin (Typogr. Ant. ii. 446) ever saw it: the latter quotes the catalogue of the Bodleian Library, where indeed it is to be found, and where I had the good fortune to meet with it. Until I had it in my hand, I took it for granted that it was an attack upon stage-players. It has no date, and the colophon is in these words—'Thus endeth this 'lytell treatyse of the churche of yvell men and women. Imprinted 'at London, in Fletestrete, by Rycharde Pynson, printer to the kynges 'noble grace.' It is a translation from St. Bernardyne, and not St. Augustine, as Dr. Dibdin erroneously states, and in an address to the

In the year 1511, Dean Colet was called upon to deliver an *Oratio at Clerum* before the convocation at St. Paul's, and his testimony may be adduced in proof, that the clergy not only frequented, but acted plays: although this *Oratio* was not delivered until two years after Henry VIII. had ascended the throne, it refers to a period anterior to the demise of his predecessor. Dean Colet complains that the clergy 'Conviviis et 'epulationibus se dedunt, in vanas confabulationes se

reader, at the back of the title, we are told 'the which treatise was 'drawen out of his booke in laten, intytuled Christen relygyon. 'And translated out of Frenche in to Englishe, at the instaunce of 'Charles, erle of Worcester and chamberlayne to our soveraygne 'lorde the kyng.' At the end of the book (which is small 8vo. or 12mo.) is Pynson's device. As no notice of this production has ever been published, a short extract may be acceptable, in which the writer describes a pack of cards, and their suits, in his time.

'And ryght so as in the portuous of our adversary ther is dyvers 'hystories: as the hystory of the nativyte, of the resurrectyon, of 'kynges and dyvers other. In lykewyse wyll I that there be pompous 'hystories in ours: as kynges, quenes and varlettes. I wyll moreover 'that my stories have great singnificacons, al so well as they of Christe. 'They that are paynted within, signifyeth the avaryce and cupidite of 'the cursed players. And those of the kynges signifyeth pride, inobe-'dyence, and arrogance. They of the quenes, lechery and lubricyte. 'Those of the foles, the great follye of y^e^ players that weneth to wynne 'a thyng transytorie, and leseth the rychesse eternalles. And those of 'the varlettes signifyeth that the players are servauntes of me Lucifer '* * * The cardes with paynted hertes, sygnifieth that they which 'play have gyven their hertes unto the play, and unto the devyll. And 'those there as is the trayfles, signifyeth the folisshe ioye y^t^. they take 'in servynge Lucyfer. They of pykes sygnifyeth the noyses & debates 'that procedeth, & those of dyamondes signifyeth that the churche 'infernall shalbe paved with their soules.' Sign. B.

'effundunt, se *ludis* et jocis tradunt, se aucupiis et 'venationibus accommodant.' Farther on we meet with this passage—'Recitentur leges et sanctæ regulæ 'traditæ a patribus de vita et honestate clericorum; 'quæ prohibent ne clericus sit mercator, ne sit fœne-'rator, ne sit venator, ne sit *publicus lusor*, ne sit 'arma gerens,' &c. A translation of this 'Sermon' was published without date, but very soon after it was delivered, by Berthelet, and there we find the word *ludis* in the first quotation rendered 'playes;' and the words *publicus lusor* in the second quotation rendered 'common player.' If the clergy had not at that period sometimes exhibited as 'common players,' it would have been needless for Dean Colet to have told them to repeat the 'laws and holy rules' of the fathers.

ANNALS OF THE STAGE,

DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

Henry VIII. had no sooner ascended the throne than the court amusements were placed upon a much more costly and extensive footing *; and perhaps the extravagance of this king in the pursuit of his pleasures has led, in some degree, to an unjust accusation of parsimony against his predecessor, who seems to have given liberal encouragement to the art of printing, as well as to poetry, music and the stage. During the reign of Henry VII. we meet with comparatively small charges for revels, but the disguisings, in the first Christmas after his son came to the crown, cost no less than 584*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.* for gold plate, silks and apparel, alone†. In the next year no similar items

A.D. 1510.

* The 'Act of Apparel,' 3 and 4 Edw. IV., exempting 'pleyers in their enterludes,' has been already referred to, and in similar legislative regulations in the 6th and 7th Henry VIII., to fix the particular dress to be worn by different classes, it is provided expressly that none of the clauses shall extend to 'minstrells and players in interludes:' when these laws were revived in 24 Henry VIII. the exception was applied to 'minstrells, players in interludes, sights, and revells.'

† According to Hall (Chron. An. 2, Henry VIII.) the King was a proficient in arms and arts: he shot with the bow, wrestled, played on instruments, sang and composed music, besides writing ballads.

'From thence the whole Courte removed to Wyndesore, then begyn-'ning his progresse, exercising hym selfe daily in shotyng, singing,

occur among the King's expenses, and perhaps the money was paid out of some other fund, and carried to a different account; for we learn from Hall's Chronicle, that the exhibitions at Richmond, where the King kept his Christmas, were of a magnificent description: his words are these:—

'Against the 12 daye or the daie of the Epiphane 'at nyghte, before the banket in the hall at Ryche- 'mound, was a pageaunt devised like a mountayne, 'glisteryng by nyght, as though it had bene all of 'golde and set with stones; on the top of the whiche 'mountayne was a tree of golde the braunches and 'bowes frysed with gold, spreding on every side over 'the mountayne with roses and pomegranetts: the 'which mountayn was with vices brought up towards 'the kyng, and out of the same came a ladye appa- 'reiled in clothe of golde, and the children of honour, 'called the Henchemen, which were freshly disguysed 'and daunced a Morice before the kyng; and that 'done reentred the mountayne, and then it was drawen 'backe, and then was the Wassail or banket brought 'in, and so brake up Christmas.'

On the 13th of February solemn jousts were held; and after describing the tournament at length, Hall adds what is more to our purpose:—'After supper his 'grace with the Quene, Lordes and Ladies, came into

'daunsyng, wrastelyng, casting of the barre, plaiyng at the recorders, 'flute, virginals, and in settyng of songes, makyng of ballettes, and 'did set ii goodly masses, every of them fyve partes, whiche were song 'oftentimes in hys chapel, and afterwardes in diverse other places.'

'the White Hall within the said Pallays, which was 'hanged rychely, the Hall was scaffolded and rayled 'on al partes. There was an Interlude of the Gentel-'men of his chapell before his grace, and divers fresh 'songes: that done, his grace called to hym a greate 'man, or a Lord of Ireland called Odonell, whom in 'the presence of the Ambassadours he made knyght: 'then mynstrells beganne to play, the Lordes and 'Ladies beganne to daunce*.'

During the festivities of Christmas, 1512-13, the King's players, and other performers who came out of Suffolk, acted at court; but in this year there is no entry of extraordinary expenses. Nevertheless it is evident from the account the old Chronicler just quoted gives of the nature of the performances, that some charge of the kind must have been incurred. He tells us that in this year 'a mask, a thing not seen afore in England,' was introduced; so that there must have been some difference, not now distinctly to be explained, between 'a mask' and 'a disguising.' Hall

A. D. 1513.

* The minstrels also on this occasion danced in disguises. A most extraordinary scene followed. The King and Lords entered the hall in a pageant on wheels, and they were to have retired into it again after the interlude, but the 'rude people' (as Hall terms them), in their rapacity for the finery of which it was composed, pulled it to pieces. After dancing, the King desired his nobles to tear the gold letters from their dresses and to fling them among the crowd, but the rabble could not be restrained: they broke in, stripped the king 'to his hosen and doublet, and all his companions in likewyse.' The guard interfered to put the people back, 'or els, as it was supposed, more inconvenience had ensued.'

says:—'On the daie of the Epiphanie at night the 'king with xi other were disguised after the manner 'of Italie, called a maske, a thing not sene afore in 'England: thei were appareled in garmentes long and 'brode, wrought all with golde, with visers and cappes 'of gold; and after the banket doen these Maskers 'came in with the sixe gentlemen disguised in silke, 'beryng staffe torches, and desired the ladies to 'daunce: some were content, and some that knew the 'fashion of it refused, because it was not a thing com-'monly seen. And after thei daunced and commoned 'together, as the fashion of the Maskes is, thei toke 'their leave and departed, and so did the Quene and 'all the ladies.'

The name of Richard Gibson has been inserted among the players of Henry VII., and early in the reign of Henry VIII. he was appointed 'Yeoman Tailor' to the King, and subsequently Sergeant-at-Arms and of the Tents and Revels*. In this capacity it was his business to superintend the preparations for the royal entertainments, and to keep accounts of the expenditure. Among some miscellaneous papers of this reign, in the Chapter-house, is a roll, of the items

* This fact appears by the following extract from MS. Cotton. Vitellius, F. V., giving an account of the burning of Gibson's son in the reign of Mary:—See also Strype, Eccl. Mem. iii. 413.

'The 13 day of November was Sant Erkenwold evyn, the 4 and 5 'of K. and Quen, whent owt of Nugatt unto Smyth feld to be bernyd '3 men: on [one] was Gybsun, the sun of Serjant Gybsun, Serjant of 'armes, and of the reyvells, and of the Kyngs tents, and 2 more, the 'whyche here be ther names—Gybsun, Hald, and Sparow, thes 3 men.'

of the Revels in the 5th Henry VIII., including
A. D. charges for masks and minstrelsy at Calais,
1515. while the King was at the siege of Terouenne, and after the taking of Tournay. The most curious part of this document relates to the Revels at Richmond during the festivities of Christmas, 1514-15, which thus commences :—

'For to do pleser the Kyngs grace, and for to pas 'the tyme of Chrestemas, by Sir Harry Gyllfurth '[Guildford] Master of the Revells, was devysed an 'Interluit, in the wheche conteyned a moresks [mo-'resco] of vj persons and ij ladys: wherfor by hys 'commandement, of our soveraine lord the Kyng, and 'at apoyntment of Sir Harry Gylforth, was preparyd, 'had and wrought dyvers and sundry garments.'

This is followed by a detail of the materials purchased for the making of the dresses, &c. ; but before I mention a few of the particulars, it will render them more intelligible, if I quote a singular paper folded up in the roll, and in a different handwriting, giving an account of the nature of the exhibitions before the King on this occasion. Two interludes were performed, one by Cornyshe and the Children of the Chapel, and the other by English and the rest of the King's players, and the account of them is as follows:—

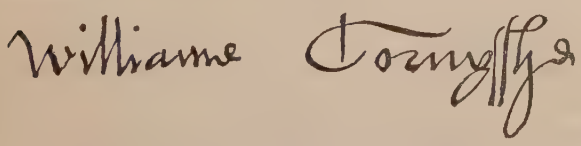
'The Interlud was callyd the tryumpe of Love and 'Bewte, and yt was wryten and presentyd by Mayster 'Cornyshe and oothers of the Chappell of our sove-'rayne lorde the Kyng, and the chyldern of the sayd 'Chapell. In the same Venus and Bewte dyd tryumpe

'over al ther enemys, and tamyd a salvadge man and 'a lyon, that was made very rare and naturall, so as 'the kyng was gretly plesyd therwyth, and gracyously 'gaf Mayster Cornysshe a ryche rewarde owt of his 'owne hand, to be dyvydyd with the rest of his felows. 'Venus dyd synge a songe with Beawte, which was 'lykyd of al that harde yt, every staffe endyng after 'this sortte:

'Bowe you downe, and doo your dutye
'To Venus and the goddes Bewty:
'We tryumpe hye over all,
'Kyngs attend when we doo call.'

'Inglyshe, and the oothers of the Kynges pleyers, 'after pleyed an Interluyt, whiche was wryten by 'Mayster Midwell*, but yt was so long yt was not 'lykyd: yt was of the fyndyng of Troth, who was 'caryed away by ygnoraunce & ypocresy. The foolys 'part was the best, but the kyng departyd befor the 'end to hys chambre.'

This portion of the document appears to be in the hand-writing of Cornyshe himself, who appended his signature in the following form.



* Most probably Henry Medwall, who was chaplain to Cardinal Morton in the reign of Henry VII., and who has left behind him an interlude in two parts, called *Nature*, which is one of the earliest printed Morals in our language. See Orig. and Progr. of Dram. Poet.

The statement of the cost of the various materials is in the hand-writing of Gibson, and it appears that, besides the Interludes, and the Moresco or Morris-dance, there was a disguising, and that a fool was introduced into the entertainment, for whose coat a charge is made. The following are a few of the numerous items.

'Itm bowght by me Rychard Gybson of satten of 'bregs, whyte & gree, xlviij yards, the yard 2*s.* 6*d.* 'wherof spent in 6 jakytts for gentylmen, to every 'jakytt 6 yards. These jakytts had wyd slęvys pen-'dent.

'Itm bought by me Rychard Gybson, of yowlow 'sarsenet xxxviij yards, the yard 4*s.* wherof spent & 'imployd for a foolys kote 4 yards.

'Itm spent for iij mynstrells cotts, half yellow; to 'every cote 3 yards. Itm whyte sarsenett for the iij 'mynstrells cottes, half whyte; to every cote, 3 yards.

'Itm bowght by me Rychard Gybson, one pece of 'sypers, [cypress] 4*s.* spent & imployd for the tyer of 'the lady callyd Bewte, and the oother half for the 'lady callyd Venus: so spent of sypers 1 pece.

'Itm bowght by me Rychard Gybson, xxiiij dozyn 'of bells, the dosyn 12*d.* spent for the sayd morysks, 'as well as 5 dosyn of the Kyngs store that were allso spent.

'Itm payd to Rychard Rownanger, paynter, for 'werkyng & betyng of a surkytt & a mantyll of yellow 'sarssenet, with hartts and wyngs of sylver for the 'lady that playd Venus, 10*s.*

'Itm bowght by me Rychard Gybson, xxiiij thow-
'sand spangs [spangles] of Flanders makyng, callyd
'setters of dyvers sorttys, pr. the thowsand, 4*d.*—8*s.*

'Itm bowght by me Rychard Gybson, 18 thow-
'sand spangs called hyngers, of latten or coper, the
'thowsand, 6*d.*—10*s.*

'Itm for a long gyrdyl for the lady, 1 yard.

'Itm bowght by me Rychard Gybson, 38 yards of
'blake sarssenet, the yard 3*s.* wherof spent in vj
'gownys for the sayd gentylmen to kever ther gar-
'mentts; to every gowne v yards, 30 yards.

'Itm spent for the kevyring of bonytts; to every
'bonyt, ½ yarde.

'Itm spent for vj payer of slop hosyn for kevyring
'of ther bells, 4 yards.'

From these particulars we may gather, that the gentlemen first entered disguised in black, and stripping off their external habits, afterwards appeared as Morris-dancers.

The two ladies playing Venus and Beauty, doubtless acted in Cornyshe's Interlude *.

* These two parts were probably sustained by Ladies of the Court; and somewhat later in France, it was not unusual for the Princess and the female nobility to appear in what were termed 'farces.' This word is used in a letter from Sir W. Paget, resident Ambassador at the French Court, to Henry VIII., dated 26 Feb. 1541-2, giving an account of such a performance. The original is in the State Paper Office, and it was obligingly pointed out to me by Mr. Lemon. Sir W. Paget uses these expressions.

'The Cardinall of Turnon is restored again to the Kinges favour by
'the meanes of Madame d'Estampes and the Quene of Navarre, who

The velvets and silks, exclusive of other articles, for the 'disguising' in 1516, cost 247*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.*, and the apparel, &c., furnished from other quarters, are charged at 137*l.* 14*s.* 0½*d.* The revels at New Hall, otherwise called Beaulieu, in Essex, at Christmas 1519-20, occasioned a disburse of 207*l.* 5*s.* 1½*d.*, and no doubt this was not the whole of the charge: in the preceding year, according to Stow, there was a 'pestilence almost over all England,' and the King, therefore, 'kept himself with small company about him *.' In the summer of 1520, Henry VIII. and Francis I. met in Flanders, and enormous expenses were incurred by the former; of which, the sum of 3007*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* for apparel for the King, challengers and maskers, appears in the account of the royal payments.

A. D. 1516.

During the four first years of his reign, Henry

'lately went to visite him two myle from hence at his lodging, and 'played a farce before him: the players wherin were the Kinges 'doughter, Madame d'Estampes, Madame de Nevers, Madame Mont-'pensier & Madame Belley.'

* This circumstance is referred to in a letter from the Duke of Norfolk to the Lord Privy Seal, (preserved in his correspondence in the Chapter-house, Westminster,) dated Overton, 6th October, at 11 o'clock at night [1519.]

'I have thought convenient to send my servant this berer unto you, 'to knowe the certaintie with your good advise, whether I were better 'to come uppe with such nombre as I was wont to have abowts me 'when I wayted in the Court, wich was abouts xl. horses, or els to 'come with a smaller nombre: And also whether I shall bring with 'me my Sone of Surrey or not, whom I have caused to put hymself in 'redynes to mete me at Ware.'

VIII. kept up the theatrical establishment of his father, but in 1514 having added a new company of players to his domestic retinue, from thenceforward payments were made to 'the King's players,' and to 'the King's old players *.' The gentlemen of the Chapel also continued their performances, and he raised their emoluments on such occasions, at once from 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, which was the highest reward given

* In Lansd. MS. No. 171, it is said, that Henry VIII. increased his theatrical servants from 4 to 8, giving each of them an annual fee of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*: the fact is, as it is stated above, that four of them were called 'the King's players,' and the four others 'the King's old players.' In the same document, the following is given as the establishment of the King's Chapel, with the charge for it.

	£.	s.	d.
Master of the Chapel, fee	40	0	0
Largess to the Children at high feasts .	9	13	4
Allowance for their breakfast . . .	10	0	0
Thirty-two Gentlemen of the Chapel, fee to every of them 7½ per diem, *i. e.* . .	365	0	0
Making the total expense of the Chapel	£424	13	4

This charge is independent of the cost of apparel, which must have been very considerable. In the Wardrobe Accounts, in the 3d and 4th Henry VIII., formerly in the possession of Mr. Craven Ord, is a warrant for furnishing Thomas Sexton, one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel, with a gown which was to cost 11*l.* 18*s.* Another warrant directs that William Crane shall be furnished with a gown, costing 9*l.* 12*s.* The gowns of three others were to cost 26*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.* By a warrant in the same volume, dated 26th April, 4 Henry VIII., green dresses are ordered for no less than 80 Trumpeters. 'Blynd Dike the King's Harper,' who is often mentioned in accounts at the commencement of this reign, was provided with a gown costing 3*l.* 8*s.* The gowns of the gentlemen *Capellæ Regis*, were composed of tawny camlet, and black satin furred with 'black bogy,' [*forsan* black budge].

by his father, to 10*l.* The children of the Chapel were also converted, at particular seasons, into a company of comedians, and when they played received a gratuity of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, which passed through the hands of Cornyshe, their old master and instructor. He seems to have been in high favour with Henry VIII., and on one occasion received as a reward the sum of 200*l.* John English, as has been before remarked, was also retained in the service of this King, with a stipend of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* John Heywood, who is called 'the singer,' had a quarterly allowance of 5*l.*, at that date a very considerable salary, and six times as much as the fixed stipend of any of the interlude players *.

* The first notice of Heywood, in connection with the household of Henry VIII., is in the year 1514, when his name only is inserted: in 1519 he is called a 'singer,' and not included among the persons forming the establishment of the Chapel. He was probably then a boy, separately retained for the excellence of his voice: later in the reign of Henry VIII., it will be found that he is spoken of as 'a player on the virginals,' but as he probably held another appointment, master of a company of children who played before the Court, his salary was reduced to 2*l.* 10*s.* per quarter. He subsequently became a dramatic author, besides being the writer of many poems. One of these, directly connected with the amusement of the court, and well meriting preservation, has hitherto escaped all notice: it is contained in Cotton MS., Vespasian, A. xxv.; and as it relates to the situation Heywood occupied at the particular period to which we are now referring, I cannot refrain from quoting it in a note.

'Longe have I bene a singinge man,
'And sondrie partes ofte I have songe,
'Yit one parte since I first began
'I cold nor can sing, olde or yonge;
'The meane, I meane, which parte showthe well
'Above all partes most to excell.

'The

Under Henry VII. the sum annually presented to the lord of misrule for his services at Christmas was

'The base and treble are extremes,
'The tenor standethe sturdelie,
'The counter reignethe then me semes;
'The meane must make our melodie.
'This is the meane, who meanthe it well,
'The parte of partes that doth excell.

'Of all our partes, if any jarre,
'Blame not the meane being songe trewe;
'The meane must make, it maye not marre;
'Lackinge the meane our mirthe adewe:
'Thus showthe the meane not meanlie well,
'Yet doth the meane in this excell.

'Marke well the mannour of the meane,
'And therbie tyme and tune your songe;
'Unto the meane where all partes leane,
'All partes are kepte from singinge wronge.
'Though singinge men take this not well,
'Yet doth the meane in this excell.

'The meane in compasse is so large
'That everye parte must joyne therto;
'It hath an ooer in everie barge,
'To saye, to singe, to thinke, to do.
'Of all these partes no parte doth well
'Without the meane, which doth excell.

'To highe, to lowe, to loude, to softe,
'To fewe, to manie at a parte alone,
'The meane is more melodious [ofte]
'Then other partes lackinge that one:
'Wherbie the meane comparethe well
'Among all partes most to excell.

'The meane in losse, the meane in gaine,
'In welthe or in adversitie;
'The meane in healthe, the meane in paine,
'The meane meanethe alwaies equitie.
'The meane thus ment may meane full well,
'Of all other partes most to excell.

'To

never more than 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; but Henry VIII. raised it in the first year of his reign to 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and subsequently to 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* William Wynnesbury, who most frequently held that post, was also in the receipt of wages at the rate of 1*s.* per day, though it is not stated in what capacity. In the 8th Henry VIII., Richard Pole was lord of misrule, and two years afterwards Edmund Travore discharged the same duties; but in the next year, Wynnesbury was restored to his office, and he was succeeded by William Tolly, whose name does not occur again in the accounts *.

'To me and myne with all the reste,
'Good Lorde, graunte grace, with heartie voice
'To singe the meane that meanethe best,
'All partes in the beste for to rejoyce:
'Which meane in meaninge meanethe well,
'The meane of meanes that doth excell.
'Finis Mr. Haywoode.'

A MS. volume, belonging to Mr. B. Heywood Bright, contains this song, with some variations of little importance. It is there attributed to John Redford.

* Many of the preceding particulars, which are quite new, are collected from two folios in the Chapter-house, Westminster, each entitled 'The Kynges boke of payments,' and they extend from the first to the twelfth year of his reign, both inclusive. I do not think it necessary to apologise for the length of the following quotations from them. In point of date they necessarily anticipate other particulars to be inserted hereafter, but it would have been inconvenient to separate them by placing them under their respective years.

	£.	s.	d.
1 Henry VIII. Dec. 25. To them that played in the hall upon thursday nyght, and upon Sonday nyght	1	0	0

It will be remarked, that in the entries in 'the Kings books of Payments,' the terms 'maskelyn'

		£.	s.	d.
1 Henry VIII. Jan.	6. To my Lorde of mysrule in full payment for his busynes in Cristmes . .	5	0	0
.. ..	To the gentlemen of the Kings Chapell that playd in thall opon 12th nyght . .	10	0	0
Feb.	10. To Wynnesberry, Lorde of mysrule, in full payment for his besynes at Cristmes .	3	6	8
..	24. To Rob Amadas opon his bill for certen plate of gold stuf bought of him for the disguysings .	451	12	2
.. ..	To Willm Buttry opon his bill for certen sylks bought of hym for the disguysings . .	133	7	5
2 Henry VIII. Dec.	15. To the Lorde of mysrule towards his busynes ageyn Cristemas .	6	13	4
Jan.	1. To the Lorde of mysrule in rewarde	2	0	0
.. ..	To Master Cornisshe .	2	0	0
..	6. To the Lorde of mysrule for his besynes in Cristemes .	6	13	4
.. ..	To the gentylmen of the Kings chapell for their play in rewarde	10	0	0
.. ..	To the Kings players in rewarde	3	6	8
3 Henry VIII. Dec.	21. To the Lorde of mysrule towards his costs at Cristemes .	6	13	4
Jan.	1. To the Lorde of mysrule in rewarde . . .	2	0	0
..	6. To the Lorde of mysrule of Cristemas, for his besynes the same tyme in full cont. .	6	13	4
.. ..	To the Kings players in rewarde . . .	3	6	8

and 'masculers' are used: they mean nothing more than 'maskings' and 'maskers,' now sometimes em-

		£.	s.	d.
3 Henry VIII. Jan. 6.	To the Players that cam out of Suffolke, that playd affore the Lorde Stewarde in the Kings Hall opon Monday nyght .	0	13	4
4 Henry VIII. Dec. 19.	To Willm Wynnesbury opon a warant for parte of his costs, being Lorde of mysrule this Cristemes . .	10	0	0
Jan. 1.	To the Lorde of mysrule servt.	2	0	0
.. 6.	To Wynnesbury in full cont. for his Revelles and besynes this Cristemes . .	3	6	8
.. ..	To the Kings players in reward . . .	3	6	8
5 Henry VIII. Dec. 4.	To Willm Wynnesbury, Lorde of mysrule, for his besynes this Cristemas . .	13	6	8
Jan. 1.	To the Lorde of mysrule servt.	2	0	0
.. ..	To the Kings olde Players in rewarde . . .	4	0	0
6 Henry VIII. Dec. 17.	To Willm Wynnesbury opon a warraunt for to kepe Revelles as Lorde of Mysrule in Cristenmasse	13	6	8
Jan. 1.	To Wynnesbury Lorde of Mysrule in rew. . . .	2	0	0
.. ..	To the Erle of Wiltyshires playres that shulde have played in the Kings Hall oppon Thursday at nyght in rewarde . .	0	13	4
.. ..	To the Kings olde Players in rewarde . . .	4	0	0
.. 6.	To the Kings Players in rewarde	3	6	8
.. ..	To John Haywood wages 8*d.* per day			

ployed, as far as we can judge, in common with the older word 'desguisings.' A remarkable document

		£.	s.	d.
6 Henry VIII. Jan. 6.	To John Mason wages 8*d.* per day			
.. 21.	To Leonard Friscobald for diverse velwets, and other sylks for the disguysing . .	247	12	7
.. ..	To Richard Gibson for making of diverse garments, and other stuf	28	4	4
Feb. 2.	To Wynnesbury opon his wages avaunced aforehand for 2 moneths at 12*d.* the day . .	2	19	0
.. ..	To Richard Gybson for certen apparell, &c., for the disguysing at the fest of Cristemes last .	137	14	0½
7 Henry VIII. Dec. 19.	To Willm Wynnesbury, to be Lorde of mysrule in the kings howse this Cristemes .	13	6	8
Jan. 1.	To Wynnesbury Lorde of mysrule	2	0	0
.. ..	To the Erle of Wilshires players	0	13	4
.. ..	To the kings olde players in rewarde . . .	4	0	0
.. 6.	To the kings players in rewarde	3	6	8
8 Henry VIII. Nov. ..	To master Cornisshe, gentylman of the kings chapell, opon a warraunt in rewarde . .	200	0	0
Dec. 7.	To Ric. Pole opon a warrant for his charges for to be Lorde of mysrule at Cristemas next .	13	6	8
Jan. 1.	To the Lorde of mysrule .	2	0	0
.. 4.	To the kings players in rewarde	3	6	8
.. ..	To the kings olde players in rewarde	4	0	0
.. ..	To Mr. Cornisshe and the children of the chapell, that played affore the king	6	13	4

upon this subject, of the early part of the reign of Henry VIII., is preserved in the Chapter-house,

		£.	s.	d.
8 Henry VIII. Jan. 24.	To Richard Gybson for diverse things by hym bought for the kings disguysings opon 12th nyght last past . . .	130	19	0½
9 Henry VIII. Dec. 25.	To one Sigemonde Skeyf, an Almayn, for an instrument called a Regalle	22	0	0
	To the kings players in rewarde [No Lord of Misrule is mentioned this Christmas, and, perhaps, the players did not perform on account of the pestilence then prevailing.]			
10 Henry VIII. Dec. 9.	To Edmonde Travore, whom the kyng hath appointed to be Lorde of mysrule this Cristmes . . .	13	6	8
Jan. 1.	To the Lorde of Mysrule .	2	0	0
.. 2.	To the kings olde players in rewarde	4	0	0
.. ..	To Mr. Cornisse for playing affore the king opon newyeres day at nyght with the children of the kings chapell . .	6	13	4
.. ..	To the gentylmen of the kings chapell for their good attendance in Xtemas . .	13	6	8
11 Henry VIII. Dec. 4.	To Willm Wynnesbury Lorde of mysrule this Cristemes . .	13	6	8
.. ..	To Richard Gybson opon a warraunt for the revells, called a maskelyn, at New-hall in Essex	207	5	1½
Jan. 1.	To Wynnesbury Lorde of mysrule	2	0	0

Westminster, under the following title, 'A Booke of 'the Kings Revell stuff, being in the charge of John 'Farlyon *, lately deceased, whiche is now com-

			£.	s.	d.
11 Henry VIII.	Jan. 6.	To Mr. Cornisshe for playing afore the king this Cristemas with his children . .	6	13	4
	.. ..	To the gentelmen of the kings chapell . . .	13	6	8
	.. ..	To the kings players .	3	6	8
	.. ..	To the kings olde players .	4	0	0
12 Henry VIII.	.. ..	To John Haywoode synger wages	5	0	0
	Dec. 1.	To Willm Tolly to be Lorde of mysrule for his expenses and charges for executing the same rowme . . .	13	6	8
	Jan. 1.	To my Lord of mysrule .	2	0	0
	.. 6.	To master Cornisshe for his play	6	13	4
	.. ..	To the kings players in rewarde	3	6	8
	.. ..	To the kings old players in rewarde . . .	4	0	0
	.. ..	To William Mortemer, brawderer, Richard Gibson, and diverse other opon a warraunt for clothes of golde, silks, velvetts and other diverse apparelles, as well for the kings owne person, as for other by his commaundement had and made, as well for the Justs and Tourneys royal lately holden at Guysnes; as also for masculers and other diverse things as more playnely apperith by the same warraunt . . .	3007	16	6
	March .	Half yere wages: for John Englishe fee . . .	3	6	8

* In the *Liber Numerator, Scaccarii* of Henry VIII., in the Chapter-

'mytted unto one Brigges, being appointed unto 'the same rowme; whiche said stuff is remaynyng in 'certain cofers, or standerds, at Warwicke Inne, Lon-'don.' It commences with an inventory of 'stuff concernyng a Triumph and Justs *,' and it then proceeds to a list of 'Masking garments, or for disguisings,' including parts of the apparel for 9 separate masks. The dresses for 'the Palmers Mask,' which seems complete, are the following:

'Itm 8 shorte cloks for Palmers of skarlet, with 'Keys embrouderd upon their shulders.

'Itm 8 hatts to the same of crymson satten with 'scalop shells embrodered before.

'Itm 8 scrippes of crymson satten with their gir-'dells.

'Itm 8 pair of crymson satten boots.

'Itm 8 Palmers staves, clapdishes, and beeds.'

Every mask consisted of 8 persons, and among the articles in coffers are 24 visors. There is also an enumeration of 'hats of Tartary fashion,' and of mantles

house, under date of Easter, 6 Henry VIII., the following entry, regarding the office held by this person, is met with:—

'Johi Farlyon Custod. Vestuarum sive apparatūm omnium singu-'lorum jocorum, larvatorum, vocat. Maskes, Revelles and Disguysings; 'ac etiam apparatus et trappers omnium et singulorum equorum nos-'trorum ordinat. et appunctuat. pro hastiludiis, de feod. suo ad vj^{d} per 'diem sibi debit. a 28 die Novembr anno vj^{to} salt. pro cxx diebus ad 'ratam predictam attingat ad summam 40*s*.

† One of the articles enumerated is 'a pavillion of cloth of gold 'embroidered with H. K. and lined with green sarcenet.' Others are '24 barbs for great horses, cordings for barbs, bases,' &c.

'according to the Irish fashion,' which, doubtless, belonged to masks of Tartars and Irishmen.

The masks given early in the reign of Henry VIII., both by the King and Wolsey, were most splendid and expensive; and Cavendish, in his Life of the Cardinal, inserts an elaborate and picturesque description of one of them, in which the King and several of his nobility masked as shepherds, and took Wolsey by surprise when he was giving a banquet to his friends and adherents. It is unnecessary to quote the passage, as the work in which it is found is deservedly in the hands of everybody*. Stow, in his Chronicle, places this occurrence in the year 1516, and is indebted to Cavendish for the detailed particulars he supplies.

By an original account, in his own hand-writing, in the Chapter-house, Westminster, it appears, that in 1514 Richard Gibson was employed upon a very important task, *viz.*, the repair of all the tents, halls and pavilions at Calais, probably in anticipation of the arrival there of the King's sister, Mary, on her way to Paris for her marriage with Louis XII. of France†.

* See the excellent edition of 'Cavendish's Life of Wolsey,' produced under the care of Mr. Singer, London, 1827, p. 112.

† This document is entitled thus:—'Here enseweth a Declarycion 'of Rychard Gibson, yeman tayllor to owr Sovrayne lord the King, 'for all reparacyons done upon the Kings Tentts, hallys and pavyl-'lyons, beyng at Callys, as in the 6th yere of his rayngne, & for stuff 'by the sayd Rychard provyded and bought, and wagys to workmen 'peyd for the sayd reparacyons.'

The account is extremely long and minute, including every parti-

The apparel for the court revels was kept at Warwick Inn, and probably the dresses of the King's players were deposited in similar 'coffers and standards.' Of these dresses I have an enumeration, as early as the year 1516, under the title of 'Garments for Players,' which, perhaps, is only part of a longer inventory of the same kind. It is, however, in the form in which it exists, of considerable value, as it serves to throw light on the nature of the theatrical amusements of the time: whether it belonged to any independent company of performers, or to one of the theatrical establishments of the court, it is impossible to decide; but from the costliness of some of the materials, we may be inclined to conclude in favour of the latter. It once formed the fly-leaf of an old book, and is in the following terms:—

'GARMENTS FOR PLAYERS.

'A°. VII. Henr. VIII.

'A long garment of cloth of golde and tynsell, for 'the Prophete upon Palme Sonday.

cular of expenditure for materials and workmen. The 'tents, pavilions, and halls' were no less than forty-two in number, and the covering of all of them appears to have been canvas. In addition to these, 'four new pavilions,' each requiring one hundred and fifteen ells of canvas, were prepared by Gibson, besides 'two halls made new,' in each of which one hundred and forty yards of canvas were consumed. The difference between a tent, a pavilion, and a hall, is not pointed out. They all went by different names, as 'the Flowerdelyce,' 'the Harpe,' 'the Gold Cross,' 'the Red Rose,' 'the Rose Whyte & Red,' &c. No doubt the greater part of these suffered in the calamity which befel them in 1520, when, as Stow informs us, the canvas banquetting-houses, &c., were blown away in a hurricane.

'Itm a capp of grene tynsell to the same.

'Itm a long garment of crymson satten with ci-
'phers enbroudered.

'Itm another shorter garment of the same satten.

'Itm a long garment enbrodered with wrethes of
'golde, and cutt.

'Itm a shortter garment of the same sort.

'Itm a long garment of peces & tyed with reband
'of blew satten, cutt.

'Itm a long garment of frenged sarecnet yellowe.

'Itm ii garments & an halfe of grene tinsell.

'Itm xii peces of garments of olde tinsell.

'Itm ii coots crimsen vellwett and tinsell paned.

'Itm v garments of olde blewe satten with scrip-
'tures of Romane lettres.

'Itm a pece of a garment of bawdekyn.

'Itm a littill gowne for a woman, the virgin*, of
'cloth of silver.

'Itm a littill coote for a childe of cloth of silver.

'Itm a coot of crimson velwet & tilson satten.

'Itm iiii garments of damask & satten for women,
'olde.

'Itm xv pleyers garments of silke, olde, wherof vi
'long and ix short.

'Itm cappes of divers fassions for players and of
'divers colors: xviii of satten & sarcenet.

* The words 'the virgin' are interlined in the original copy with a different ink, if not by a different hand, to that by which the rest of the inventory was made out: another word seems to have followed, perhaps 'Mary,' but the paper is extremely rotten, and precisely in this place it is defective.

'Olde peces. Itm certain peces of garments in a 'coofer with borders of enbroudery, being loose to 'serve to alter garments from tyme to tyme as shalbe 'thought convenient.'

In this list, the gown for the Prophet on Palm Sunday, the little gown for the Virgin, and the little coat for a child, tend to show that the performances for which they were used were Miracle-plays, or at least pieces in which certain Scripture characters were mixed up with the allegorical impersonations of Morals. It may be conjectured, that the 'long garment of pieces tied with ribbon of blue' was a sort of motley dress for the Vice.

'The Books of Payments' of Henry VIII., already so amply quoted, in an entry dated June 29, 1509, which I have not thought it necessary in terms to extract, and which is very often repeated, establishes that the wages of 'a luter,' of the name of Giles, were 2*l.* per month, or 16*d.* per day. Whether all the minstrels of the King were paid at the same rate is doubtful: by a MS. in the British Museum*, we learn (the particular date is not inserted) that those who were called 'the King's minstrels' in the reign of Henry VIII. were no less than eighteen in number, and from their names it may be inferred that they were all Italians, Germans, or Frenchmen. The document is called, 'The charge of the diet of the Kings Hyghnes, and his side in the grosse;' and it contains the subsequent item:—

* MSS. Lansdowne, No. 2.

'The bourdwagis of Ihon de Bassani, Antony de 'Bassani, Jasper de Bassani, John Baptiste de Bas- 'sani, Marcus Antonius, Nicholas de Forrewell, Pelle- 'grine Symon, Antony Symon, Nicholas Andria, An- 'tony Maria, John de Savernake, Guyllam Guillam, 'John de Bovall, Nicholas Puvall, Hanse Hansvest, 'Haunce Hichhorne, Peter de Welder, 18 mynstrells 'every of them 4*d.* the day, 109*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*'

The accounts of the expenses of the royal household do not indicate, that Henry VIII., as his father had done, extended his countenance to the dramatic art beyond the limits of his court. Several companies of players, from different parts of the kingdom, experienced the bounty (for so it may be fairly termed) of Henry VII., and the actors of not a few of the nobility performed at court. Certain players of Suffolk, and others attached to the Earl of Wiltshire, are the only companies which exhibited at court during, at least, the twelve first years of the reign of Henry VIII. It is unquestionable, however, that the nobility still continued to give their patronage to plays, and in imitation of the King most of them kept theatrical retainers of their own*. The most distinct

* The King's players, as well as the players of the nobility, seem to have travelled round the country representing plays wherever they could obtain adequate reward. From the 1st to the 31st Henry VIII., the King's players, the King's juglers, the King's minstrels, and the King's bearwards were visitors of Thetford, and were paid various sums, from 4*d.* to 6*s.* 8*d.*, by the Prior of the convent there, as appears by the

information we possess on this point relates to the Northumberland family, and the chief source of our knowledge is the book of regulations, drawn up in 1512 by the then Earl, for the government of his family *. Every Christmas a Master of the Revels was appointed to superintend the festivities, with a fee of 20*s.*; and if the Earl's Almoner were a maker of interludes, it was provided that he should be allowed a servant to write out the parts for the performers. The rewards given to players attached to the nobility varied in proportion to the rank of the individual under the protection of whose name they travelled round the country: to the players of an Earl were given 20*s.*, while the players of a Baron were only rewarded for their exertions with half that sum.

entries in the account-book kept during that period. On one occasion, 16 Henry VIII., Cornyshe, the master of the King's chapel, was paid 3*s.* 4*d.* by the prior; but he was then, probably, attendant upon the King, who is not unfrequently spoken of as having arrived, and being lodged at the Priory. Mr. Brandon and Mr. Smith are more than once rewarded as 'Juglers of the King.' The Queen's players, the Prince's players, and the players of the Queen of France also experienced the liberality of the Prior, as well as those of the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl and Countess of Derby, Lord and Lady Fitzwater, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Challoner, and two gentlemen who are called Marks and Barney.—MS. of the Expenses of the Priory of Thetford, from 1461 to 1540, lately in the collection of Mr. Craven Orde, and now of his Grace the Duke of Newcastle.

* It was printed in 1770, under the care of Bishop Percy, from the original MS., and it has recently been reprinted. All the orders that relate to players, and theatrical amusements are quoted by Bishop Percy in his Essay on the Stage (Reliques, i., 139, edit. 1812).

What are called in the same book 'players strangers, (who were either attached to some peer not the 'special friend or kinsman' of the Earl of Northumberland, or, perhaps, not countenanced by any protection of the kind,) were only allowed 20*d.* for each play; but as they represented a series, (probably of Miracle-plays founded upon Scripture,) the calculation was that the sum they would receive would amount in the whole to 33*s.* 4*d.*

These regulations may be illustrated, in some degree, by exhibiting the mode in which they were carried into execution in the family of the same nobleman a few years afterwards. At the Chapter-house, Westminster, is still preserved, though in a state of melancholy mutilation from the damp to which it has been for some centuries exposed, a volume of the receipts and expenditure of the Earl of Northumberland in the 17th and 18th years of the reign of Henry VIII.* In point of date these particulars ought to be postponed, but it will be more convenient and intelligible to insert them here in connexion with the notice of the household regulations.

* In one part of it the following title is still legible, 'Al maner of 'payments of money maid by me Willm Worme betwixt Michaelmas 'Anno 17 R. Henrici VIII. and Michaelmas next Anno 18, by the spaice 'of an hulle yere, as herafter followith.' Other headings of a similar kind occur elsewhere, but, in general, they are more than half illegible. In many places the damp has entirely obliterated the ink, and in others the paper is so frail, that it falls to pieces with the gentlest touch.

		£.	s.	d.
17 Henry VIII. Feb. 17.	For eggs, brede, drynke and oranges for my Lorde, into my lorde of Burgaynes chamber when theye were there a maskyng before the king . .	0	1	0
March 30.	Payed unto my lorde [the MS. is here illegible] at Mr. Carewes place for men playing a play .	0	6	8
July 7.	Payd to Jasper Horsey for money layde owt by hym upon Corpus Christi evyn for my lords bothyr [boat-hire] from Polls wharfe to Parys gardyn, and from Parys gardyn to my lorde Cardinallys and from my lorde Cordinallys to Paris gardyn . .	0	1	8
Oct. 31.	Payd more the same day unto Willm Peres my lordes Chaplen for makyng of an Enterlued to be playd this next Cristenmas	0	13	4
Dec. 26.	Payd to my lorde of Suffolkes players for two plays bifore my lorde * . . .	2	0	0

* The following further quotations from this MS. are worth preserving, and it seems impossible that the book, in its present state, should exist long.

		£.	s.	d.
17 Henry VIII. Feb. 19.	Payd for Bonetts mete and his drynke at London the same tyme when he went unto the goldsmythe for my lord's Valentyne	0	0	4
March 5.	For Yerds drynke and the 2 horskeps at Eltham the same tyme my lorde dyd rune with Parker at the Tylte .	0	0	4
.. ..	Payd at Eltham the same day for my lordes breakfast . . .	0	1	4

The 'chaplain' above mentioned was probably also the Earl of Northumberland's Almoner, and a maker of interludes; a contingency, as we have seen, contemplated in the household regulations of 1512: he consequently was allowed a servant to write out the parts, and as the interlude was finished on the 31st of October, and was to be played at Christmas, sufficient time was allowed for preparation. William Peeres, 'Clerke and Preste Secretory' to Henry Percy, the 5th Earl of Northumberland, the person whose name is inserted as the maker of the interlude, wrote a poem, 'On the Descent of the Lord Percies,' which is among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum*.

		£.	s.	d.
17 Henry VIII. Mar. 5.	Payd the same day for my lords drynking after the Tylte	0	0	2
April 26.	Paid to Mr. More chauncellor of the Dewchey for his qrt fee dew at our Lady Day in Lent A° xvii. after £20 by yere dewringe my lords pleasure	5	0	0
18 Henry VIII. Oct. 7.	Payd to my Lords 5 Trompetts for there hole yere fee ended at Mic last A° xvii. after 40*s.* a pece	10	0	0
.. ..	Item to my lords 6 Trompetts by thands of J. Scotte under bayliff of Yslam in Cambrygeshere for there hole yere	12	0	0
Feb. 18.	Geven in rewarde to a frear [friar] of Blackefrears for saying of a masse Requem for my lordes Father	0	0	4
March 30.	Geven unto a preste for saying masse bifore my lorde at Powles	0	0	4

* 18, D. ii. It ends with the following stanza.

'In this pamphilet, ye that shall rede,
'Beholde and consyder the honorable discente

In the Prologue he states, that he presented it to his lord as a new year's gift.

It will be observed, that the officer called in the household of the Earl of Northumberland, 'Master of the Revels,' was yet only known at Court either by the title of 'Abbot of Misrule,' or sometimes of 'Lord of Misrule*.' It was not until some years afterwards, that Henry VIII. erected the Mastership of the Revels into a permanent office, nor did it then supersede the temporary nomination of an individual, to provide and regulate the pastimes of the Court. Of the origin of the office of Master of the Revels, I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

A. D. 1520. One of the earliest indications of the existence of anything like a classical taste, in matters connected with the stage in England, is to be noticed under the date of 1520, when four French hostages had been left in this country, for the performance of the treaty relating to the surrender of Tournay. For their entertainment the King 'prepared a disguising, and caused his great chamber at 'Greenwich to be staged,' for the purpose: according to Holinshed, among the performances on this occa-

'Of this 5th Erle, marke it well in dede:
'His progenytoures in youre mynde yf that ye enprente,
'It shall appere clere also and evident,
'That descended he is of the noble blode of Inglande,
'Lancasters, Marches, Arundell & Westmoreland.'

It is to be hoped that his interludes were better than his heroics.

* Excepting in the instance of Sir Henry Guildford, who in the 5th Henry VIII. is styled by Richard Gibson, 'Master of the Revels.'

sion, 'there was a goodly comedy of Plautus played *.' As it was for the amusement of foreigners, the representation was most probably in Latin, for we have no trace of an English version of any of the plays of Plautus of so early a date †.

Princess Mary was born on 11th Feb., 1516-17, and before she had completed her sixth year, revels, including disguisings and dramatic representations, were held in her presence and for her entertainment. Some singular and minute particulars of these exhibitions are contained in an account appended to an original book, of the expenses of the household of the Princess closing with the end of the year 1522, A. D. and preserved in the Chapter-house, West- 1522. minster. That account I shall here present in its original form:—

'Thyse bene the costes & charges leyde owte & payde
'by John Thurgoode, lorde of Mysrule, with the Princesse
'grace in Crystmas tyme, the xiij yere of the Reigne of
'Kynge Henry the viii.
'Imprimis pd to ij Taberetts all the tyme of
'Xstemas . . . . 4s.
'Itm to a paynter of Wyndesore for makyng

* Vol. iii. p. 850, edit. 1587.

† The interlude of *Jack Jugler*, is our first extant dramatic production derived from Plautus; but as far as we can judge from internal evidence, it seems not to have been performed until the reign of Edward VI. The *Andria* of Terence was printed under the title of 'Terens in Englysh,' as may be concluded prior to 1530, and probably with the types of John Rastall, but no printer's name, nor date are appended. In the translation it was adapted to the manners of the time, and was intended for representation. It is examined in some detail in another division of this work.

'vysors, payntyng of fases, Coote armors, hatts 'for dysgysyng, and for payntyng xiij Quayers 'of paper in dyvers colors . . 5*s.* 4*d.*

'Itm pd. to Butteller for hyre of garments 'herys, & hattys at London, with caryage of the 'same fro London to Dytton, & to London 'ageyne . . . . 3*s.* 8*d.*

'Itm pd. for xiij Quayers of paper bought at 'Wyndesore after ij^{d} *ob.* the Queyer . . 2*s.* 8½*d.*

'Itm pd. for xij shetes of golde foyle . 18*d.*

'Itm pd. for whyght threde, blak threde & 'pakthrede . . . . 10*d.*

'Itm pd. to a Taylor & his iij servants, for 'warkyng on dyverse garmentes, for my chaunge 'at sondre tymes, as well for there laburs as for 'mete, drynke and logyngs . . . 7*s.* 8*d.*

'Itm pd. for Frayler at Wyndesore to make 'garmentes, and other dysgysyng . . 16*d.*

'Itm pd. for Tonny Skynner & Tonny Tayler 5*d.*

'Itm pd. to a man at Wyndesore, for kyllyng 'of a calffe before my ladys grace behynde a 'clothe . . . . . 8*d.*

'Itm pd. to a man of Dachet for pleying of 'the Fryer afore the Pryncesse . . 8*d.*

'Itm for makyng of a payre of sloppys for 'Jakes, when he pleyed the shypman, and a 'blewe garment made lyke harnes for the same 'Jakys, and a nother garment for mayster Pen- 'nyngton . . . . 12*d.*

'Itm pd. for iiijdds Clateryng Stavez and ijdds 'Marys pykes . . . 16*d.*

'Itm pd. for xij Bowez made by vyces with 'Shafts . . . . 20*d.*

'Itm pd. for Strawe, that xij men were covered 'with in a dysgysyng, & for strawe at other 'tymes . . . . 6*d.*

'Itm pd. for hyryng of a horse, when I rode
'for garmentes to Wyndsore . . 4*d.*
'Itm pd. for Gonne powder & in rewarde for
'iiij men that war gonners . . 4*s.*
'Itm pd. for Frankynsence . . 1*d.*
'Itm pd. for horsebrede instede of manchett. 1*d.*
'Itm pd. to Thomas Sowthe for rydyng for
'the ij Tabretts, & for hyeryng of a horse to
'fetche harnes fro Wyndesore to Dytton, and
'cariage of the same home ageyne . . 10*d.*
'Itm pd. for mendyng of Adams garments that
'war brokyn . . . . 4*d.*
'Itm pd. for hyeryng of x dds bells, and ix
'Morres cots, & for the losse of xxij bells percell
'of the same x dd. . . . 2*s.* 4*d.*
'Itm pd. for hyeryng of a horse all the haly-
'dayes, & for trymmyng the same horse in dy-
'verse fachyons at sondre tymez . . 16*d.*
'Sm. bill. 40*s.* altor per Jane Calthorp,
'Philip Cailthorp, Ric Sydnor.'

Hence it appears, that a Lord of Misrule, named John Thurgoode, was appointed at Christmas 1522-3, to superintend the revels, and that part of those revels consisted of a disguising, for which hats and garments were hired in London. Morris-dancers were also introduced, for the coats, staves and bells for whom charges are inserted. Some kind of play was likewise represented, and the mention of Adam's garments would lead to the conclusion that it was a Miracle-play of the creation. Adam might, however, be the name of one of the performers, as was certainly the case with Jaques (possibly, Jaques Hawte, whose name has already frequently occurred), who played

the part of a shipman. Another person, not named, supported the character of a friar: the singular item for the payment of a man of Windsor, for killing a calf in the presence of the Princess behind a cloth, is inexplicable, unless we knew the story represented. Fire-arms were discharged on the occasion, and gunners were hired for the purpose, but whether the twelve bows made by [de]vices, and the straw to conceal twelve men, belonged to the disguising or to the play, it is impossible to decide. This document is one of the most remarkable, as well as one of the earliest, connected with our stage, that has ever rewarded my research*.

* About three years afterwards, viz. on the 17th November, 1525, the Bishop of Exeter and others of the council of the Princess, wrote to the court from Tewkesbury, in order to ascertain the pleasure of the King 'whether (as the letter is worded) we shall appoynte any Lord 'of Mysrule for the said honorable householde, to provide for interluds 'dysgysyngs or pleyes in the said fest [of Christmas] or for a banket 'on twelf nyght?' The reply is not extant, and we have no trace of any revels upon the occasion: the letter of the Bishop of Exeter, &c., is preserved in Cotton MS., Vesp., F. xiii., and it has been recently printed among many other valuable documents of the same kind in the first series of Mr. Ellis's Letters, &c., i., 271. Among the Royal MSS. (17 B. xxviii.) is a very curious one, which throws farther light upon this subject, but at a later date. I allude to the book of the daily expense of the household of the Princess Mary, from the twenty-eighth to the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Henry VIII., which contains entries of money paid for dramatic entertainments, &c., at various periods. John Heywood had then become master of a company of children, who probably acted his own dramatic productions; and on one occasion the princess paid him 10*l.* 'for playing an enterlude with his children' before her. She was also accustomed, at Christmas and

So much were players in request about this period, and so fashionable an amusement had theatrical exhibitions become, that it was usual, on the celebration of any joyous event in a family of distinction, either to have a play represented by the performers attached to the family, or to hire them for the purpose. In Croft's *Excerpta Antiqua** is a detailed account of a banquet, play, and mask at the house of Sir John Nevill, of Chevet, on the marriage of his daughter, in January, the 17 Henry VIII., to Roger Rockley. If a person of rank gave a banquet, it was often preceded by an interlude; or (as the name implies) a dramatic performance represented in the intervals of the entertainment. We have seen the words *interludentes* and 'players in interludes' used in the reign of Edward IV.; and the mention of 'players of interludes' in English, occurs again in the reign of Henry VII., when, in the book of Exchequer payments, already quoted, the actors he retained are termed 'the King's players of interludes:' we may, perhaps, hence infer, that the plays and pageants represented at court, and elsewhere, were usually performed in the pauses of banquets. For this express purpose some of them appear to have been written, and were contrived to occupy more or less

on New Year's-day, to give rewards to the 'King's players,' to 'the children of the chapel,' and to 'the King's children' (perhaps under Heywood); but the sum never exceeded 10*s.* on these occasions, and sometimes it was only 7*s.* 6*d.*

* Published at York, in 1797. 8vo.

time, according to the space that was to be so employed*.

We have a detailed and accurate account of the whole domestic establishment of Henry VIII., in the seventeenth year of his reign, in a contemporary MS. in my possession, endorsed 'A 'Booke of wages paide monethly, quarterly & half 'yerly by the Kyng, 17 Hen. VIII.' Here we find the names and salaries of every person connected with the household, from the highest to the lowest; but on what occasion it was made out does not anywhere appear. Only a comparatively small part of this long catalogue is connected with our inquiry. The following received monthly wages:—

A. D. 1526.

12 Trumpettes, wages in 16*d* a daye .	£24
3 other Trumpettes, wages in 8*d* a day .	40*s*

* On the title-page of the interlude of *The Nature of the Four Elements*, printed very soon after the reign of Henry VIII. commenced, it is expressly pointed out what omissions might be made to bring the piece, if necessary, within the compass of three-quarters of an hour. The author of the MS. historical play of *Sir Thomas More*, in the Harleian Collection (No. 7368), which was probably written before the year 1590, may be supposed to have been in some degree acquainted with what had been the habit in this respect about half a century anterior to the time when he wrote. He represents that the interlude, or moral, of *The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom* was played by the actors of Cardinal Wolsey previous to a banquet supposed to be given by Sir Thomas More to the Lord Mayor and citizens of London. According to Hall (when speaking of the events of 14 Henry VIII.), and other authorities, Cardinal Wolsey had a company of players belonging to his household establishment.

Giles, lewter with the Princess	40*s*
Arthur Dewes, lewter	10*s* 4*d*
Peter Welder, lewter	31*s*
John Severnake, a rebike	40*s*
Thomas Evans, a rebike	6*s* 8*d*
John Pyrot, a rebek	40*s*
Balthazàr, a taberet	31*s*
Nowell de Lasaile, a taberet	33*s* 4*d*
Glande Burgens, taberet with the Princes	31*s*
William More, harper	10*s* 4*d*
Andrew Newman, the Waite	10*s* 4*d*
Hanse Hoffenet, viall	33*s* 4*d*
Hanse Heighhorne a viall	33*s* 4*d*
4 Drumslades, each	31*s*
Jaques, a phipher	31*s*
John van Wincle, a sagbut	55*s* 6*d*
Nicholas Fortywall, a sagbut	55*s* 6*d*
John Van Arlen, a sagbut	55*s* 6*d*
Lewes van Wincle, a sagbut	40*s*
John de Antonia, a sagbut	40*s*
Aloisy de Blasia, a sagbut	40*s*
Mark Antonia, a sagbut	40*s*
Pelegryne, a sagbut	40*s*
Ypolet de Salvator, a sagbut	40*s*
Fraunces de Salvator, a sagbut	40*s*
Lewke Horneband, pictor maker	55*s* 6*d*
For borde wages of the children of the chapel to maister Crane*	26*s* 8*d*

* Crane himself, who was at this date Master of the Children of the Chapel, was paid out of a different fund to that which seems to have been devoted to the wages of the household. The following ex-

William Tooley, yoman lord of mysrule . 30*s*

Among the persons whose wages were paid quarterly are these:—

John Heywood, player of the virginals . £6 13 4.
William Lewes, instrument maker . . 50*s*
John de John, prest organmaker . . 50*s*

Richard ap Guillam, the kings foolle . 15*s* 2*d*
Richard James, a lymner of bookes* . 30*s* 5*d*
Thomas Hall, writter of the kyngs bookes 100*s*
John Swayves, grayver of pictors . . 100*s*

Philip Welder, mynstrell† . . . 50*s*
Vincent Vulpt, paynter 100*s*

The list of those who received half-yearly wages includes the following:—

tract from a Book of Receipts and Payments of the Exchequer in the 18th of Henry VIII. shews that his annuity, as usual, was £40.:—

'Will° Crane, Magistro Puerorum Capellæ Dom. Regis de annuitate 'sua ad xl li per ann. sibi debit: pro termino Michaelis Anno xviii^mo 'Regis nunc Henrici VIII. rec: den: Will° Gonson——£10.'

The same sum was paid to Crane at Christmas. The book from which I quote is in the Chapter-house.

* The Book of Exchequer payments in Easter term, 24 Henry VIII., establishes that Thomas Berthelet, or, as he is there named, Bartelot, the printer, had an annuity of £4 a year:—

'Thomæ Bartelot, Impressori Regis, de annuitate sua ad iiij li 'per ann. per lra de hoc termino. Rec. den: per fest. Paschæ ult° per 'manus R. Gonson 40*s*.'

This seems to have been the first payment of the kind made to him.

† In 17 Henry VIII., as appears from the account of Exchequer payments preserved in the Chapter-house, Westminster, John Gylmyn was *Marescallus Ministrallorum*, and had seven other minstrels under him. He was succeeded in 1529 by Hugh Woodhouse.

Sir Henry Guldeford, annuitie .	. £6: 13: 4
The same Sir Henry for his fee .	. 16: 13: 4
Sir Francis Bryan for the Toilles .	. 33: 6: 8
John Englissh player* . .	. 66*s* 8*d*
William Dawbeney of the Chapell .	. 70*s*
Olde Maynard wewoke paynter .	. 100*s*
Robert Wakefield, Greke reder .	. 66*s* 8*d*
Mr. Croke, greke reder at Cambridge .	100*s*

The whole household of the King included in the catalogue, from which the above are extracted, exceeded three hundred persons.

By an account preserved in the Chapter-house, Westminster, of the household expenses of the natural son of Henry VIII., who had been created Duke of Richmond and Somerset in June, 1525, it appears that between 12th June, 1526, and 31st March, 1526-7, he had been several times entertained by the performances of players, and that the Council appointed for

* It is not to be supposed that at this time the only player in the pay of the King was English; but after having served Henry VII. it is probable that at this time he had ceased to perform, and was still allowed half his wages and board. The following entry in a Book of Receipts and Payments of the Exchequer in 17 Henry VIII., the year when the enumeration of the King's household in the text was made out, shows that persons of the names of Richard Hole and George Mayler were then at the head of the King's Interlude Players:—

'Rico Hole et Georgio Mayler, et aliis Lusoribus Dom. Regis, de 'feodis suis inter se ad x marcos per Ann. sibi debit: pro festo Mi- 'chaelis, Anno xvij Regis nunc Henrici VIII. recept. denar, per manus 'proprias per litt. curr.——66*s* 8*d*.'

Each player, therefore, received quarterly precisely the sum that was paid to John English half yearly.

his care and custody had paid, in that interval, £3. 18*s.* 8*d.* as rewards to players and minstrels. No particulars regarding either the companies who acted, or the pieces they represented, are furnished*.

Richard Gibson's account of 'Revelles at Richmond and Grenewich in the time of Cristemas' (without the date of the year, but most probably in 1526) is extant in the Chapter-house, Westminster; but it furnishes no information of the nature of the entertainments, whether plays, disguisings, or merely tournaments. The wages of each of the workmen, and the cost of canvass, paint, size, oil, tinsel, gold, silver, &c. are set out with the utmost minuteness and precision.

* The account includes some other curious items of expenditure, under the head of 'Certain extraordinarye and foren charges.' The title of the whole runs thus:—'Here ensueth the Charges, as well of 'the Garde of Robes and Beddes, as the Stable of the right high and 'prepotent Prince Henry, Duke of Richemond and Somerset, and Earle 'of Nottingham,' from the 12th of June, 17th of Henry VIII., to 31st March ensuing:—

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
'Item paied for certayne newe yeres giftes . .	6	9	5
'Item rewardes yeven to diverse parsons for newe yeres 'giftes presented unto the saied Duke upon newe-yeres daye 'last	9	6	8
'Item paied for charges of Greyhoundes and other 'houndes	4	10	0
'Item payed to players and mynstrelleis for rewardes, 'as appereith by a lyke bylle therof made, and signed by 'the saied Counsayll	3	18	8
'Item delyvered to the lorde Ogle by waye of preste for 'the kepinge of Tyndalle	20	0	0
'Item delyvered to the Almer for certayne almes dis- 'tributed to poore peepull within the saied tyme . .	11	17	10'

From another account, appended to the first, it appears, that jousts were held at Greenwich, at Easter of the same year, and the charges for preparations under the care of Gibson, extend from the 29th of February to the 7th of March. Stow informs us, that at this date 'was holden solemn justs at Greenwich,' in which the King and eleven others were on one side, and the Marquis of Exeter with eleven more of the opposite party.

The 'pastimes' of the King and his court, in the Spring of the next year, were upon a scale of unusual magnificence. In that depository of so much valuable information on these subjects, the Chapter-house, Westminster, is a volume in folio with the following title:—'A booke of payments of money 'disbursed by Sir Henry Gwildforde, knight, and Sir 'Thomas Wyat, knight, in the building of a Banket-'ing-house at the king his manor of Grenewiche.' It was a temporary erection of wood and canvass; and why, in this instance, Sir H. Guildford, the comptroller of the King's household, and Sir Thomas Wyat, the poet, were called upon to interfere with their superintendence, may, perhaps, be explained by the extraordinary amount of the expenditure, and the splendor of the exhibitions: the banqueting-house alone cost £760. 4*s.* 7*d.*, and it was entered by 'two arcks tri-'omphant of antique works.' Charges for 'lions, 'dragons,' &c., might be looked for in the ordinary course of such amusements; but an item for 'dyvers 'necessaries bought for the trymmyng of the Father

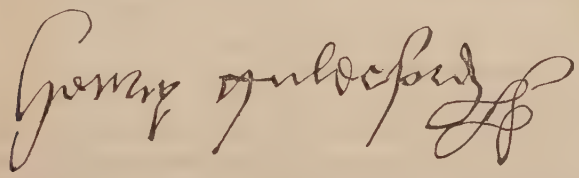
A.D. 1527.

'of Heaven,' would be hardly expected: it seems, however, to establish the curious fact, that as late as 1527, in a pageant performed at Court, the Creator was introduced as a character, in the same manner as he had been in the old Miracle-plays. St. George likewise figured in the spectacle, and 4*s.* were paid for the work of two tailors for two days upon his coat. The wages of the Italian painters (whose names are given, *viz.*, Vincent Vulpe, Ellys Carmyan, Nicholas Florentyne, and Domingo) amounted to £43. 10*s.* 8*d.*; and connected with this part of the expense we must not omit to mention a representation of Terouenne, called 'a plat of Tirwan,' for the execution of which 'Maister Hans' received £4. 10*s.* This scene (if it may so be called) was painted upon canvass, and placed at the back of one of the triumphal arches. The workmen were employed night and day from the 27th of February to the 26th of March, although the revels did not in fact take place until the 4th of May; and so pressed do the superintendents appear to have been for time, that a letter was sent to the Lord Mayor 'for his command for workemen to help the tornors makyng pillers.' Two of the most curious items of charge are the following, which add another name to the list of our dramatic authors, and, if understood literally, prove that at that date, when undertaken even for the Court, play-writing was not a very profitable employment.

'Itm to John Redemen for wrytyng of the [a word not 'legible] 4 daies and more, 3*s.* 8*d.*

'Itm for the writyng of the diagloge, and makyng in 'ryme, bothe in inglishe and Latin, 3*s.* 4*d.*'

It is possible that John Redeman was only employed as a scribe, to write out the parts, the piece being in dialogue, which may account for the smallness of the sum he obtained; but then the additional phrase of 'making in rhyme' would hardly have been used. The document is signed by the hand of Sir Henry Guildford, in the following manner,



to attest its correctness; and the accountant acknowledges the receipt, during the progress of the work, of £660., so that there remained due £101. 4*s.* 7*d.*, less £43. 3*s.* 4½*d.*, allowed for materials obtained out of the King's own store *.

* Hall usually enters into more minute particulars of the court revels than other chroniclers, and the following is his description of the preparations and performances on this occasion. Chron. 1550. ii. fo. clvi.

'Sonday the fyft daye of Maye was a solempne Masse songe at 'Grenewich, the Cardinall and the Archebyshop of Canterbury with x 'prelates mitered beyng present, and there the Frenche Ambassadours, 'in the name of the Frenche kyng there master, sware to observe the 'peace * * * * For the more enterteining of the Frenche Ambassa-'dours, the kyng caused a solempne Justes to be done * * * * The 'kyng against that night had caused a banket house to be made, on 'one syde of the tylte yarde at Grenewyche, of an hundreth foote of 'length, and xxx foote bredth; the roofe was purple clothe full of roses

At Christmas, 1527-8, a play was performed at Gray's Inn; and although this is the first time we have met with any notice of theatrical exhibitions

'and pomgarnettes: the windowes were all clere stories with currious 'monneles strangely wrought; the jawe peces and crestes were carved 'with vinettes and trailes of savage worke, and rychely gilted with gold 'and byse: this worke carbolyng bare the candelstyckes of antyke 'woorke, whiche bare little torchettes of white waxe: these candelstickes 'were polished like aumbre. At the one syde was a haute place for 'herawldes and minstrelles. This house was richely hanged, and therin 'was raised a cupbord of seven stages high and xiii foote long, set with 'standyng cuppes, bolles, flaggons and greate pottes, all of fyne golde, 'some garnyshed with one stone, and some with other stones and 'perles: on the other syde was a nother cupbord of ix stages high, set 'full of high pottes, flagons and bolles, all was massy plate of sylver 'and gilte, so high and so brode that it was marvaile to beholde. At 'the nether ende were two broade arches upon thre antike pillers of 'gold burnished, swaged and graven full of cargills and serpentes, sup-'portyng the edifices. The arches were vawted with armorie all of byce and golde, and above the arches were made many sondri antikes 'and devises * * * The hole supper was served in vessel of gold; 'to reherse the fare, the straungenes of the dishes, with the devises of 'beastes and fowles, it were to long, wherefore I will let passe over the 'supper with songes and minstrelsie. When supper was done the kyng, 'the quene, and the ambassadors washed and after talked at their plea-'sure; and then thei rose and went out of the banket chambre bi the 'forsaid arches, and when they were betwene the uttermoste dore and 'the arches, the kyng caused them to turne backe and loke on that syde 'of the arches, and there they saw how Tyrwin was beseged, and the 'very maner of every mans camp very connyngly wrought, whiche 'woorke more pleased them then the remembryng of the thyng in dede. 'From thens they passed by a long galerie richely hanged into a 'chambre faire and large * * * the rofe of thys chambre was con-'ningly made by the kynges astronimer, for on the grounde of the rofe 'was made the hole earth environed with the sea, like a very mappe or

there, as the piece then acted had been written many years prior by a member of that Society, there is reason to suppose that it had been represented soon after it was completed*. Cardinal Wolsey was present in 1527-8, and Warton conjectures that, as the author, John Roo, was 'degraded and imprisoned,' the piece 'contained some free reflections on the clergy†.' Holinshed was Warton's authority on the

'carte, and by a conning makyng of a nother cloth, the zodiacke with 'the xii signes, and the five circles or girdelles, and the two poles apered 'on the earth, and water compassyng the same * * * After a solempne 'oracion in the Latin tongue * * * then entred eight of the kinges 'chappel with a song, and brought with theim one richely appareled; 'and in likewyse at the other side entred eight other of the saied 'chappel bringyng with theim a nother persone likewise appareled: 'these two persones plaied a dialog, theffect wherof was whether riches 'were better then love, and when they could not agre upon a conclusion, 'eche called in thre knightes all armed. Thre of theim would have 'entred the gate of the arche in the middel of the chambre, and the 'other iii resisted, and sodenly betwene the six knightes out of the arche 'fell downe a bar all gilte, at the whiche barre the six knightes fought 'a fair battail, and then thei were departed, and so went out of the 'place. Then came in an olde man with a silver berd, and he con-'cluded that love and riches both be necessarie for princes (that is to 'saie) by love to be obeied and served, and with riches to rewarde his 'lovers and frendes, and with this conclusion the dialogue ended.'

* Dugdale (*Origin. Jurid.*, 285) informs us, that 'at a pension held 'here [Gray's Inn] in Michaelmas Term, 21 H. 8, there was an order 'made, that all the fellows of this House, who should be present on any 'Saturday at supper betwixt the feasts of All Saints and the Purifica-'tion of our Lady, or upon any other day at dinner or supper, when 'there are Revells, should not depart out of the Hall until the said 'Revells were ended, upon penalty of 12*d.*'

† Hist. Engl. Poet., iii. 223.

point; but Hall* is very explicit, and inserts the plot of the Moral (for such it was), and shows precisely the ground of offence to the cardinal, who, although the play had been written twenty years before, applied it personally to himself. Hall tells us: 'This Christ-'mas was a goodly disguysing plaied at Greis Inne, 'whiche was compyled for the moste parte by Ihon 'Roo, Sarjant at the law, 20 yere past, and long 'before the Cardinall had any authoritie: the effecte 'of the plaie was, that Lord Governaunce was ruled 'by Dissipation and Negligence, by whose misgo-'vernaunce, and evil order, Lady Publike-wele was 'put from Governaunce; which caused Rumor-populi, 'Inward-grudge, and Disdaine of wanton Sovereegntie 'to rise with a great multitude to expell Negligence 'and Dissipation, and to restore Publike-welth again 'to her estate, which was so done. This plaie was 'so set foorth, with ryche and costly apparell, with 'straunge devises of masks and morishes, that it was 'highly praised of all menne, saving the Cardinall, 'whiche imagined the play had been devised of hym.' Hall further informs us, that in consequence Wolsey sent Roo, the author, and Thomas Moyle, of Kent, 'one of the young gentlemen that played,' to the Fleet; but upon subsequent representation, that the performance had been misapprehended, they were released.

We now come to a remarkable event, which, independent of its connexion with the progress of the

* Chron. 1550, ii. fo. cliv. b.

drama, is important as a piece of history. It is, I believe, new as regards both.

In Cavendish's Life of Wolsey* we read a long and interesting narrative of the splendid manner in which the Maréchal Montmorency, the Bishop of Bayonne, the President of Rouen, and Monsieur d'Humières, Ambassadors from France, who arrived on the 20th of October, 19th of Henry VIII., were received and entertained, first by the Cardinal at Hampton Court, and afterwards by the King at Greenwich†. Among

* Mr. Singer's edition, p. 188 *et seq.* It is a mistake by Warton (H. E. P., iii., 263, edit. 8vo.) when he states, that the interlude, spoken of by Cavendish, was represented before the French Ambassadors who came to England to ratify peace in 1514: it was performed, as has been shown, in 1528, on a similar occasion; and Stow, with reference to it, nearly quotes the words of Cavendish. Warton cited the edition of Cavendish's Life of Wolsey of 1708, where it is said expressly that the interlude was 'made in Latin:' the MS. from which Mr. Singer printed his edition varies from the others, and states that it was 'made in Latin and French.' That any part of the performance was in French is not confirmed by other authorities.

† In a contemporary MS. in my hands we have a very minute account of the costly presents of plate then made to the Ambassadors: it is the original bill of Robert Amadas, the King's goldsmith; and it is unfortunately considerably mutilated by damp and carelessness. It is thus entitled:—'Md that I Robt Amadas have deliv^d by the Kings 'graces commaundement to the Ambassators of Fraunce these per-'cells of plate as here after foloweth, the 19th day of May, Anno xix^no.' This date was the time, probably, when Amadas sent in his bill. According to this account, the Bishop of Bayonne received,—

'Furst a payer of greatte potts, waying 202 oz.

'Itm vj Bollis with a cover gilt, waying 261 oz.

'Itm ij Flagons gilt, chassed with water flowers, waying 207 oz.

other things the old biographer relates, that 'in the 'midst of the banquet [at Greenwich] there was tour- 'neying at the barriers (even in the chamber) with lusty 'gentlemen in gorgeous complete harness: then, there 'was the like on horseback; and after all this, there was 'the most goodliest disguising, or interlude, made in 'Latin and French, whose apparel was of such exceed- 'ing riches, that it passeth my capacity to expound.' Stow, who in this part of his Chronicle generally copies Cavendish, acknowledging his authority in the margin,

'Itm a Basson & Ewer gilt, waying 96 oz.

'Itm a Cuppe with a cover gilt, waying 27¾ oz.'

To Viscount Montmorency were given,—

'A payer of greatt gilt potts, waying 147 oz.

'Itm iij Bollis with a cover gilt, waying 185 oz.

'Itm iij Bollys with a cover gilt, waying 135 oz.

'Itm a goodly gilt layer chassyd, waying 34 oz.

'Itm a Basson & Ewer gilt, waying 128 oz.

'Itm a Payer of Flagons gilt, waying 173 oz.

'Itm a standing gilt cuppe with a cover, waying 31 oz.'

The President obtained plate to the weight of 444 oz.; and two other persons to the weight of more than 700 oz., making in the whole nearly 3000 oz. of plate given to these ambassadors. The same account includes the following articles delivered by the King's order to Sir Anthony Brown, knight:—

'ij greatt lowe square salts with a cover, waying 58 oz.

'vj Bolles with a cover, percellis gilt, waying 172 oz.

'iij silver Candilstiks, waying 44 oz.

'xij Sponys with slyppis, waying 22 oz.

'xij Trenchers, waying 129 oz.

'xiv Platters of silver, waying 386 oz.'

together with other items to the amount, in the whole, of 1598 oz., most likely given to persons in the train of the ambassadors.

here deviates slightly from his original, and states as follows :—'And after all this was the most goodliest 'disguising, or interlude, *made in Latine*, the plaiers 'being so rich, and *of so strange devises*, that it passeth 'my capacity to expound.' He omits, therefore, the assertion, that part of the interlude was in French, and lays particular stress on the 'strange devises' of the players. The fact is, that this 'most goodliest disguising, or interlude,' acted before Henry VIII., Wolsey, and the French Ambassadors, was a Latin Moral, in which Luther and his wife were brought upon the stage, and in which ridicule was attempted to be thrown upon them, and the Reformers. It was acted by the children of St. Paul's School under the regulation of their master, John Rightwise, who was most likely the author of the piece represented.

The original account by Richard Gibson, in his own writing, giving a variety of details regarding this extraordinary exhibition, is now in my hands*; and although he was evidently an illiterate man, and wrote a bad hand, and although the paper is considerably worm-eaten, the whole is legible and intelligible. It consists of fifty-three pages closely written, and on the last leaf is a drawing with pen and ink of the ground-plot and elevation of a building, which may possibly represent the form and appearance of the banqueting-

* The official copy of it, made out from Gibson's rough draught, and signed by Sir Henry Guildford (as Comptroller of the Household) and by Gibson, is in the Chapter-house, Westminster.

house in which the play was exhibited. It is entitled in the following manner:—

'Jhu.

'The revells holldyn the xth day of Novembyr, the 'xixth yer of our sovrayn lord kyng harry y^e^ viijth.'

Without entering into the minor details of wages to workmen, and the expense of a quantity of materials of all kinds, it may be mentioned, that part of the apparel employed on this occasion had been used in the revels of the preceding month of May; but a vast deal of it was quite new and costly, including '8 beards of gold and 6 of silver set on vizors' and the 'hire of hairs for the ladies.' We afterwards arrive at the following enumeration, and description of the singular characters in this remarkable interlude:—

'The kyngs plessyer was that at the sayd revells by 'clerks in the latyn tong schoulld be playd in hys hy 'presens a play, where of insewethe the naames. First 'an Orratur in apparell of golld: a Poyed [poet] in 'apparell of cloothe of golld: Relygyun, Ecclessia, 'Verritas, lyke iij nowessys [novices] in garments of 'syllke, and vayells of laun and sypers [cypress]: 'Errysy [Heresy] Falls-interprytacyun, Corupcyo-'scryptorris, lyke ladys of Beem [Bohemia?] inperelld 'in garments of syllke of dyvers kolours: the erry-'tyke Lewter [Luther] lyke a party freer [friar] in 'russet damaske, and blake taffata: Lewter's wyef '[wife] like a frow of Spyers in Allmayn, in red syllke: 'Peter, Poull and Jhames in iij abyghts [habits] of

'whyght sarsenet, and iij red mantells, and hers [hairs] 'of syllver of damaske, and pelyuns [pelerines?] of 'skarlet, and a Kardynall in hys apparell: ij Sargents 'in ryche apparell: the Dollfyn [Dauphin] and hys 'brother in koots [coats] of vellwett inbrowdyrd with 'golld, and kaps of saten bound with vellwet: a Mes-'senger in tynsell saten: vj men in gouns of gren 'sarsenet: vj wemen in gouns of crymsyn sarsenet: 'War in ryche cloothe of golld and fethers and armd: 'iij Allmayns in apparell all kut and sclyt of syllke: 'Lady Pees [Peace] in layds [lady's] apparell all 'whyght and ryche, and Lady Quyetnes and Daam 'Tranquylyte rychely besyen [beseen] in ladyes 'apparell*.'

* We are thus enabled to contradict satisfactorily the representation given by Hall, in his Chronicle, of this performance. He was clearly misinformed, as is evident not only from this original paper, but from the official statement made by Sir H. Guildford, in the Chapter-house, upon which the money was paid to Gibson. Hall's account of the play is, however, worth subjoining:—

'Then when the kyng and Quene were set, there was played before 'them by the children, in the Latin tongue in maner of a Tragedie, the 'effect whereof was that the pope was in captivitie, and the church 'brought under the foote, wherefore St. Peter appeared and put the 'Cardinall in authoritie to bryng the Pope to his libertie, and to set up 'the church agayn; and so the Cardinall made intercession to the 'kinges of England and of Fraunce, that they toke part together, and 'by their meanes the Pope was delyvered. Then in came the French 'Kynges chyldren, and complaynd to the Cardinal, how the Emperour 'kept them as hostages, and would not come to no reasonable point 'with their father: wherfore thei desyred the Cardinal to helpe for 'their deliveraunce, which wrought so wyth the kynge, his mayster, and 'the French kyng, that he brought the Emperour to a peace and 'caused the two yong princes to be delyvered. At this play wise men

The document then sets out the different kinds of silks, velvets, &c. bought for 'these 48 personages,' and those materials which had been procured from the king's stores, of which William Locke had the charge: they consisted of $36\frac{3}{4}$ yards of white sarsnet, $22\frac{3}{4}$ yards of yellow sarsnet, $13\frac{3}{4}$ yards of black sarsnet, 5 yards of black velvet, $35\frac{3}{4}$ yards of red sarsnet, 19 yards of black satin, $22\frac{1}{2}$ yards of green sarsnet, 18 pieces of cypress, 12 plight of lawn, 7 pieces of black buckram, besides hose, cauls of Venice gold, 3 gross of points, 8 pieces of ribbon, 4 pelleuns [pelerines?] and 'the 'hire of a circlet, and a rich paste with the attire 'thereto.' The making of the apparel is then charged, after which we arrive at the following entries, which merit extracting entire.

'It. payd by me Rychard Gybson, for byer [beer], 'and aell and bred for xxxviij chylldyrn, the Master, the 'Ussher and the Masstres, that et and dranke, 3*s.* 2*d.*

'It. Mast. Ryghtwos [Rightwise], Master of Powlls 'Skooll, axethe to be alowed for dobelets, hossys [hoses] 'and schoos for the chylldern that were poore mens sons; 'and for fyer in tyem of lernyng of the play, as by hys 'byll apperythe 45*s.* 6*d.*: so for kosts by the sayd Mast. 'Ryghtwos doon, sm^a^. 45*s.* 6*d.*

'It. payd by me Rychard Gybson, for vj boots [boats] 'to karry the Master of Powlls Skooll and the chyldyrn, 'as well hoom as to the Kourt, to every boot 12*d.*: so 'payd for frayght for the chyldyrn, 6*s.*'

Thus we see, that however luxurious might be the banquet given to the ambassadors, the master, ushers

'smiled, and thought that it sounded more glorious to the Cardinall, then true to the matter in deede.'

and children of St. Paul's school were only allowed beer, ale and bread, and 3*s*. 2*d*. provided it for all. To these items are added, in Gibson's own MS., and not included in the fair copy in the Chapter-house, a charge for 'the pagent,' which was doubtless the stage or scaffold on which the performance took place. The result of the whole is that 70*l*. 15*s*. 6¼*d*. remained due to Gibson, as he acknowledged to have received 20*l*. on account.

The account of the expense of erecting the banqueting house, on the occasion when this play was performed, is in the Chapter-house, Westminster. The superintendence of the works was entrusted to George Lovekyn, clerk of the royal stable, who, earlier in the reign, as we find by the books of payments, had been sent to Oxford for education, and there maintained at the expense of the king. The works were commenced on the 11th October, and the performance took place on the 10th November. In Lovekyn's account, we find mention of a great variety of materials, for a fountain (for which seventeen gallons of perfumed waters were brought at an expense of 10*l*. 10*s*.) for two arches and a portal, for 'dancing lights,' &c. The following extract from Hall's Chronicle shows, in picturesque detail, the precise manner in which the materials purchased were applied by the artisans: he is speaking of Sunday Nov. 10th, 19 Henry VIII. 'After supper was done, 'the king led the ambassadors into the great chamber 'of disguysings, and in the ende of the same chamber

'was a fountayne, and on the one syde was a haw-
'thorne tre, al of silke wyth white flowers, and on the
'other syde of the fountayne was a mulbery tre ful of
'fayre beryes, all silke: on the top of the hawthorne
'was the armes of England compassed with the collar
'of the garter of St. Michel, and on the toppe of the
'moulberie tree stode the armes of France wythin a
'garter. This fountayn was al of whyte marble
'graven & chased; the bases of the same were balles
'of golde, supported by rampyng beastes, wounde in
'leaves of golde. In the first worcke were gargilles
'of gold, fiersly faced, with spoutes running. The
'second receyt of this fountain was environed with
'wynged serpentes, all of golde, which gryped the
'second receit of the fountain, and on the sommit,
'or toppe of the same was a fayre lady, out of whose
'brestes ran aboundantly water of merveilous delicious
'saver. About this fountayn were benches of rose-
'mary, fretted in braydes layd on gold, all the sides
'set with roses in braunches, as they were growyng
'about this fountayne. On the benches sat viij fair
'ladies in straung attier, and so rychely apparelled in
'cloth of gold, embrodered and cut over silver, that I
'cannot expresse the conning workmanship therof.'

The expense of this banqueting-house, &c., was less than usual, only 138*l.* 8*s.* $4\frac{3}{4}d$; but as Gibson used some of the dresses which had been employed in the revels in the preceding May, it is not unlikely that Lovekyn also turned to account on this occasion part of the materials of the temporary erections then constructed.

It is rendered more probable, that Rightwise was the author of the play thus represented, by the fact, that he wrote a Latin tragedy on the story of Dido and Æneas, the performance of which by the scholars of St. Paul's Wolsey himself witnessed *. Rightwise became master of that school in 1522, and died in 1532 †.

It is very possible, that in consequence of the unsettled state of the public mind on the subject of religion at this period, what were subsequently called 'the Popish Miracle-plays' were not performed as usual at Chester in 1529, although they were certainly revived afterwards. In King's *Vale Royal*, 1656‡, we have an account, under this date, of the representation of a play of a very different kind at the Market-cross of Chester, the title of which was *Robert Cicil*, or Robert of Cicily. King drew his information from the then existing records of the city, A. D. 1529.

* Warton, H E. P., iii. 259, edit. 8vo.

† He seems to have been a man much looked up to by his contemporaries, as a scholar: in the volumes of letters preserved at the Chapter-house, Westminster, is one to Sir Thomas More, from the tutor of the Duke of Richmond, (the natural son of Henry VIII.) in which he states, that he has consulted Rightwise as to the course that ought to be pursued in the education of that young nobleman. In the same letter, (which is not signed, and may be only a rough copy of the one actually sent,) the writer expresses his regret, that it had not been his good fortune to be present, when the daughter of Sir Thomas More 'disputed of philosophy before the king.'

‡ P. 194.

and after giving the names of the Mayor and Sheriffs for the year, he adds the following note.

'1529. The play of Robert Cicill was played at 'the High Crosse, and the same was new gilt with 'gold.'

This is all the knowledge hitherto obtained upon the subject; but among the unarranged papers of Cromwell in the Chapter-house, Westminster, I found a valuable letter, (not indeed addressed to Cromwell, because he was not even knighted until 1531,) from the Mayor and Corporation of Chester, stating the nature and object of the play, and asking permission to have it represented. This document has in part been destroyed by damp, so that it has no name nor date, but nearly all the rest has been preserved, and there cannot be the slightest doubt that it refers to this very transaction. The back of the letter having been torn off, it cannot be ascertained to what nobleman in the Court of Henry VIII. it was addressed. It is as follows:—

'Our moste humble duetye to your right honorable 'Lordshypp premysed, we holde it convenyent and 'proppre to infourme your good Lordshyppe of a 'play, which som of the companyes of this Cittye of 'Chester, at theyr costes and charges, are makynge 'redy, for that your good Lordshyppe maye see we-'ther the same be in any wyse unfyttynge for them, 'as honest menne and ductyfull subjectes of his Ma-'jestye. The sayde playe is not newe at thys tyme,

'but hath bin bifore shewen, evyn as longe agoe as 'the reygne of his highnes most gratious father of 'blyssyd memorye, and yt was penned by a godly 'clerke, merely for delectacion, and the teachynge of 'the people to love & feare God and his Majestye, 'and all those that bee in auctoryte. It is callyd 'Kynge Robart of Cicylye, the whiche was warned 'by an Aungell whiche went to Rome, and shewyd 'Kyng Robart all the powre of God, and what thynge 'yt was to be a pore man; and thanne, after sondrye 'wanderynges, ledde hym backe agayne to his king-'dome of Cicylye, where he lyved and raygned many 'yeres *.

* The play seems unquestionably to have been founded upon the old romance thus headed:

'Here is of Kynge Robert of Cicyle,
How pride dude him beguile;'

from which some extracts from MS. Vernon Bibl. Bodl., f. 299, are given by Warton, H. E. P., ii. 17, edit. 8vo. King Robert of Cicily denies that the power of God is greater than his own, and while he is asleep an Angel takes his shape, usurps his throne, and clothes the king like 'the fool of the hall.' In this state of degradation he endures many privations, and envies even the condition of the dogs kept about the court. The angel afterwards repairs to Rome, still personating the king, and Robert accompanies him as his fool:—

'The fole Robert with him went,
Clothed in a folis garnement,
With foxis taylys hongyng al abowght.'

In Rome Robert endures still further sufferings and degradations, but at the close of the poem he is restored to his kingdom, which exactly accords with what is said in the text of the story of the play. Both Warton and his late editor speak of the connexion between the romances

'Thys muche we thought it mete to shewe to your 'right honorable Lordshyppe, for that your good 'Lordshppe myght knowe the holle of theyr entent 'that goe aboute to playe this playe on Saynt Peter's 'day nexte ensewing; and yf your good Lordshyppe 'shold holde the same unfytte or unwyse at thys 'tyme, thanne theis pore artifycers will of our know-'lege staye the same and' * * *

It is evident that only the formal conclusion, the date, and the signatures to this communication, have perished. The piece, it seems, was not new, but a revival of a play first acted in the reign of Henry VII.; still, however, it was thought necessary to procure the sanction of the Court for it.

It was about this period that John Heywood, 'the 'singer,' and 'player on the Virginals,' began A.D. 1530. to write his interludes: these productions form an epoch in the history of our drama, as they are neither Miracle-plays nor Morals, but entirely different from both: several of them come properly within the definition of 'interludes,' pieces played in the intervals of entertainments, and have frequently both broad humour and strong character to recommend them. They were, as far as we can now judge, an

of Robert of Cicily and Robert the Devil, but they have, in fact, no resemblance either in characters or incidents: Robert the Devil was Robert Duke of Normandy, regarding whose adventures a romance was printed by Wynkyn de Worde: 'Here endeth the lyfe of the most 'feerfullest and unmercyfullest and myschevous Robert the Devyll, 'whiche was afterwarde called servaunt of our Lorde Jhesu Cryste.'

entire novelty, and gained the author an extraordinary reputation. He is not supposed to have begun to write them until 1529 or 1530; but there is nothing to fix the date beyond the publication of several of his pieces in 1533 *.

The Royal Society is possessed of a very valuable MS., a continuation of 'the King's Books of Payments,' which have already furnished so much information in the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. It seems to have been kept in the same handwriting as the rest, and was, in all probability, a fair transcript of other accounts: it is for the years 1538, 1539, 1540, 1541, and 1542, being from February in the 29th, to June in the 33d year of Henry VIII. We learn from it (as we have already seen in earlier authorities) that between those dates the

* The following quotation from Warton (H. E., P. iii., 213, 8vo.) shews that Ralph Radcliffe, towards the close of the reign of Henry VIII., was the author of several plays, religious and profane, none of which have survived. 'In the year 1538, Ralph Radcliffe, a polite scholar and 'a lover of graceful elocution, opening a school at Hitchin in Hertford-'shire, obtained a grant of the dissolved friery of the Carmelites in that 'town; and converting the refectory into a theatre, wrote several plays, 'both in Latin and English, which were exhibited by his pupils. 'Among his comedies were *Dives and Lazarus*, Boccaccio's *Patient 'Griselde*, *Titus and Gesippus*, and Chaucer's *Melibeus:* his tragedies 'were *the Delivery of Susannah*, *the Burning of John Huss*, *Job's Suf-'ferings*, *the Burning of Sodom*, *Jonas*, and *the Fortitude of Judith*. 'These pieces were seen by the biographer, Bale, in the author's li-'brary.' Henry Parker, Lord Morley, whose only extant work is a translation of the *Triumphs of Petrarch*, was also the author of 'tragedies and comedies,' as Bale terms them, in this reign.

King, the Queen, and the Prince had separate companies of players, who acted before the Court at Christmas: the wages of the former, Robert Hinstocke, George Birche, and George Nayler (or Mayler), were 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per quarter, or 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum; and when they performed at Christmas, an additional sum of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* was paid to them. Another player, named John Slee, (or Slye,) was paid half-yearly the sum of 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; and in March, 31 Henry VIII., to Richard Parrowe, whose name does not previously occur, 'one of the kingis interlude players,' was granted an annuity of 2*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* during life: he is afterwards mentioned as Richard Plowe, or Parlowe, and was included in the three, who received monthly wages, on the disappearance of George Nayler (or Mayler), from the household establishment. The Queen's and Prince's players had each a reward from the King of 4*l.* when they acted; but their salary, whatever it might be, would not be registered among the King's payments. When any of the players of the nobility performed at Court, they only received 20*s.* in reward. At this period, we hear nothing of Cornyshe, who was most likely dead; and we know that, in 1526, William Crane was the master of the children of the Chapel *, whose

* The persons employed about the Court in the reign of Henry VIII. frequently obtained patents for the sole import, export, &c., of various commodities; and among the privy seals in the Chapter-house, Westminster, is one, dated 1st of March, 33 Henry VIII., to William Crane, 'Master of the Children of our Chapell,' to buy and export for his ad-

performances at Court are also registered in the volume before us. John Heywood, in these accounts, is still spoken of as a 'player on the virginals,' and his quarterly allowance then was only *2l.* 10*s.**

vantage 400 tons of double beer. On the 10th of April, 32 Henry VIII., 'our wellbeloved servant and painter,' Anthony Toto, had a patent to buy and export 600 tons of beer.

* The entries which relate to the stage are in the following form in this volume, where the wages are divided into monthly, quarterly, and half-yearly payments, besides annual rewards:—

		£.	s.	d.
29 Henry VIII.	Quarterly payments at Lady Day.			
	Itm for John Haywood pleyar on the virginals	2	10	0
	Itm to Robert Hinstocke, George Birche, and George Nayler, pleyours .	1	13	4
30 Henry VIII.	Half-yearly payments at Lady-day.			
	Itm to John Slee [elsewhere called Slye] pleyor, wages . . .	1	13	4
	Dec. 30. Itm to the children of the chapell by way of the King's rewarde .	6	13	4
	Jan. 1. Itm to the King's pleyers, for pleying before the King this Xtemas .	6	13	4
	Itm to 4 minstrells . . .	4	0	0
	Itm to Mathewe de Johanna, Tumbler .	0	10	0
	Itm to the Quenes pleyers, for pleying before the King this Xtemas . .	4	0	0
	Itm to the Princes pleyers, for pleying before the King this Xtemas by the Kings commaundement . .	4	0	0
31 Henry VIII.	Jan. 1. Itm to Mr. Crane, for playing before the King with the children .	6	13	4
	[The King's and Prince's players received rewards as usual, but the Queen's players are not mentioned.]			

It is a circumstance deserving notice that in the book of the King's payments for the 35th and 36th

		£.	s.	d.
31 Henry VIII.	March. Itm to Richard Parrowe, one of the Kingis enterlude pleyers, by the Kingis warraunte dated 14 Feby Anno 30 Dom. Regis, for the yerely paymente to him of 44*s.* 6*d.* during his life quarterly, by even portions, from the feast of the Nativitie of our Lord God, dicto A° 30, the some of fifty-five shillings peny ferthinge for one yere and one quarter, due to hym at the Annunciation of our Lady, Anno 31 . . .	2	15	1¼
32 Henry VIII.	Quarterly payments at Christmas. Itm for Rob. Hynstoc, George Birch, and Ric: Parlowe pleyers . .	1	13	4
	Jan. 1. Itm to Lewes de Basson [Bassano?] Anthony de Basson, Baptist de Basson, Jasper de Basson, John de Basson, the King's Minstrells, by the Kings commaundement certified by Maister Charles Hawarde	4	0	0
	Itm to Vincent de Venitia, Alex. da Venitia, Ambroso da Milano, Albertus de Venetia, Joam Maria de Cramona, and Antony de Romano, the Kings vialls, by like commaundement certified by M. Cha: Hawarde . . .	4	0	0
	[The Kings, Queens, and Princes players received rewardes as usual.]			
	Itm to the Ducke of Suffolkes pleyers, for pleyinge in the Kingis hawle on twelfeven, the somme of . . .	1	0	0
	Itm Payed to Thomas Speryn and John Sperin, his sonne, serjeants of the Kings			

Henry VIII., formerly in the collection of Mr. Craven Ord, there is no entry of payments to the players of the King, the Queen, or the Prince, although Crane obtained the customary reward of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for the performances of his children. It is possible that 'the 'gentlemen of the King's chapel' superseded the regular 'interlude players,' and an entry is made of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* 'for their paines taking this Cristmas.' The trumpeters, musicians, and minstrels were paid as usual. The four minstrels, named Bassan, or more properly Bassano, obtained three rewards at this season, amounting to 5*l.*, and 'four other mynstrells' 4*l.* John Haywood received his 50*s.* quarterly, and Richard Darryngton, as 'keeper of the King's mastiffs,' 5*l.* 6*s.* 5½*d.*

The contents of this last volume of the expenses of Henry VIII. have been inserted a little out of order in point of date, in order that they might stand in connexion with the previous volume, belonging to the Royal Society, from 1538 to 1541. Perhaps the non-insertion of any payments to professed players at Court in the years 1544 and 1545, may have arisen

	£.	s.	d.
beares, by the Kings warrant for the yerely payment to them the wages of 7*d.* by the day . . .	8	12	0

In 32 Henry VIII. (*vide* Archæologia, xviii., p. 333), 'the King's 'pleyers' received 'a rewarde' for the loan of their garments for the masks on Shrove Monday and Tuesday in that year. We might infer from this circumstance, that the apparel was their own; but, perhaps, it was only a gratuity, in consideration of the clothes being borrowed for the use of others, although they were the property of the King.

from the circumstances of the times. Warton tells us that as early as the year 1533 a proclamation was promulged, prohibiting evil-disposed persons to preach, either in public or private, 'after their owne braine, 'and by playing of enterludes, and printing of false 'fonde bookes, ballades, rhymes and other lewd trea-'tyses in the English tongue, concerning doctrines in 'matters now in question and controversie*.'

What effect was produced by this proclamation, and how long that effect continued, are points we are not in a condition to decide upon any existing evi-

A. D. dence; but within a few years afterwards, viz.,

1540. in 1539-40, we find Sir William Eure (Lord Warden of the Marches toward Scotland) writing to Lord Cromwell, giving him an account of the performance of Sir David Lyndsay's *Satyre of the three Estaitis*, before King, Queen, Court and Prelacy of Scotland at Linlithgow, and congratulating his lordship, that it indicated a determined disposition on the part of James V. to reform the abuses of the church of Scotland. On the 21st of January, 1539-40, a meeting took place at Coldstream between Sir W. Eure and Thomas Bellendyn, 'one of the Counsellors of Scot-'land,' in which they discussed, among other matters, the inclinations of the King of Scotland 'concerning 'the Bishop of Rome, and for the reformation of the 'misusing of the spiritualtie in Scotlond.' The letter

* Hist. Engl. Poet., iii. 428, edit. 8vo. He furnishes no more particular date than that of the year, and refers as his authority to Fox, Martyrolog. f. 1339, edit. 1576.

giving an account of the interview is without date, but it must have been sent to London very soon after the meeting: regarding the performance of Lyndsay's 'satire,' it contains the following information:—Bellendyn told Sir William Eure 'that the kyng of 'Scotts hym selfe, with all his temporall counsaile, was 'gretely gyven to the reformation of the mysde-'meanors of busshops, religious persones, and priests 'within the realme; and so muche, that by the kyngs 'pleasure, he being prevey therunto, they have hade 'ane enterluyde played, in the feaste of the Epiphane 'of our Lorde laste paste, before the Kyng and the 'Quene at Lighqwoe, and the hoole counsaile spiri-'tuall and temporall, the hoole matier whereof con-'cluded upon the declaracion of the noughtines in 'religion, the presumption of the busshops, the col-'lucion of the spirituall Corts, called the Concistory 'Courts in Scotland, and mysusing of priests. I have 'obteyned (adds Sir W. Eure) a noote from a Scotts 'man of our soorte, being present at the playing of the 'saide enterluyde, of the effecte thereof, which I doe 'sende unto your lordshipe by this berer. My lorde, 'the same Mr. Bellendyn shewed me, that after the 'saide enterluyde fynished the King of Scotts dide call 'upon the busshop of Glascoe, being Chauncellor, and 'diverse other busshops, exorting thaym to reforme 'their facions and maners of lyving.'

The account of the interlude, supplied by 'a Scots man of our sort,' who was present, is curious and minute, and it is in these terms:—

'The copie of the nootes of the enterluyde.

'In the firste entres come in Solaice (whose parte 'was but to make mery, sing ballets with his fellowes, 'and drynke at the enterluyds of the play) whoe 'showede firste to all the audiance the play to be 'played, whiche was a generall thing, meanyng nothing 'in speciall to displeas noe man, praying therfor no 'man to be angre with the same. Nexte come in a 'King, whoe passed to his throne, having noe speche 'to thende of the playe, and then to raitefie and ap- 'prove, as in plaine parliament, all things doon by the 'reste of the players which represented the three 'estates. Withe hym come his courtiers Placebo, 'Pikthanke, and Flaterye, and such a like garde; one 'swering he was the lustieste, starkeste, best propor- 'tioned and most valiaunte man that ever was. An 'other swear he was the beste with longe bowe, crose- 'bowe and culverein in the world. An other swear 'he was the beste juster and man of armes in the 'world, and soe furthe during thair partes. Therafter 'came a man armed in harnes withe a sword drawen in 'his hande, a Busshope, a Burges man, and Expe- 'rience, clade like a doctor, whoe sate thaym all down 'on the deis, under the King. After thayme come a 'poor man, whoe did goe upe and downe the scaffald, 'making a hevie complaynte that he was heryed 'through the Courtiours taking his fence in one place, 'and alsoe his tacks in an other place, where throughe 'he had stayled his house, his wif and childeren beg- 'gyng thair brede, and soe of many thousand in Scot-

'lande; which wolde make the kyngs grace lose of
'men if his grace stod neide, saying thair was no re-
'medye to be gotten, for though he wolde suyte to the
'kings grace, he was naither acquaynted with con-
'trouller nor treasourer, and without thaym myght
'noe man gete noe goodnes of the king. And after
'he spered for the king, and whene he was shewed to
'the man that was king in the playe, he aunsuered and
'said he was noe king, for there is but one king,
'whiche made all, and governethe all, whoe is eternall,
'to whome he and all erthely kings ar but officers, of
'the which, the whiche thay must make recknyng, and
'soe furthe much more to that effecte. And thene
'he loked to the king, and saide he was not the king
'of Scotland for there was an other king in Scotlande,
'that hanged John Armestrong with his fellowes, and
'Sym the larde and many other moe, which had pa-
'cified the countrey and stanched thifte; but he had
'lefte one thing undon, which perteyned aswell to his
'charge as thother. And whene he was asked what
'that was, he made a longe narracion of the oppression
'of the poor by the taking of the corse presaunte
'beists, and of the herying of poor men by concistorye
'lawe, and of many other abussions of the spiritualtie
'and churche, with many longe stories & auctorities.
'Thene the Busshope roise, and rebuked hym, saying
'it offered not to hym to speake suche matiers, com-
'maunding hym scilence, or ells to suffer dethe for it
'by thayr lawe. Therafter roise the man of armes,
'alledginge the contrarie, and commaunded the poor

'men to speake, saying thayr abusion had been over 'longe suffered without any lawe. Thene the poore 'man shewed the great abusion of Busshopes, Preletts, 'Abbotts, reving menes wifes & doughters, and hold-'ing thaym; and of the maynteynyng of thair childer, 'and of thair over bying of lords and barrons eldeste 'sones to their doughters, wher thoroughe the nobilitie 'of the blode of the realme was degenerate. And of 'the greate superfluous rents that perteyned to the 'churche by reason of over muche temporall lands 'geven to thaym, whiche thaye proved that the kinge 'might take boothe by the canon lawe and civile lawe. 'And of the greate abomynable vices that reagne in 'clostures, and of the common bordells that was keped 'in Clostures of nunnes. All this was provit by 'Experience; and alsoe was shewed thoffice of a 'Busshope, and producit the New Testament with 'the auctorities to that effecte. And thene roise the 'man of armes, and the burges, and did saye that all 'was producit by the poor man, and Experience was 'reasonable, of veritie and of great effecte, and very 'expedient to be reaformede with the consent of the 'parliament. And the Busshope said he wolde not 'consent therunto. The man of armes and Burges 'saide thay were twoe and he bot one, wherfor thair 'voice shuld have mooste effecte. Theraftre the King 'in the playe ratefied, approved, and confermed all 'that was rehersed.'

A comparison of this description with the production of Sir David Lyndsay, as republished by Mr. G.

Chalmers*, will at once establish the identity. The biographer was not aware of the existence of these remarkable documents in the British Museum†, and he observes, 'what Lyndsay's intentions were beyond 'the gratification of his present humour, it is not easy 'to discover.' The preceding extracts fully explain his intentions, and throw a new and strong light on the progress of the Reformation in Scotland. Chalmers notices the performance of Lyndsay's 'Satire,' at Linlithgow in 1539 [1540], and he adds that it had previously been played at Coupar in 1535, but he quotes no authority. It was again played in 1554, and occupied nine hours.

The Corporation of London, from a very early date, appears to have been inimical to stage-plays; and no doubt they were sometimes the occasion of disturbances, if not of corruption of manners. Prior to April, 1543, they had adopted regulations for their suppression within the boundary of the city; but some players, acting under the protection of the then Lord Warden, (whether of the Marches, or of the Cinque Ports does not appear,) broke through these orders, and upon complaint to the Lords of the Council, the offenders were committed to the Counter. This fact is recorded in the Registers of the Privy Council in the following manner, and it is the earliest entry upon the subject of theatrical amusements in those volumes. A. D. 1543.

* In 1806, among the Works of Sir D. Lyndsay, 3 vols. 8vo.

† Royal MSS. 7. C. xvi.

'St. James, 10th April, 1543.

'Certayn Players belonging to the Lord Warden, 'for playing contrarye to an order taken by the 'Mayor on that behalf, were committed to the 'Counter*.'

In the same year, the first Act of Parliament was passed for the control and regulation of the stage and dramatic representations †—the 34 and 35 Henry VIII. c. 1.; it was the earliest statute of the Session, and it affords proof of the vacillations of the King on the subject of religion: it had for title, 'an act for

* In connection with this entry, perhaps, ought to be noticed the draught of an address to the King from the House of Commons, among other things, complaining of the non-observance of holidays, and the exhibition of stage-plays upon them. It is among the papers of Cromwell, in the Chapter-house, Westminster, and as it is without date, it is not possible to assign it to any particular year. The paragraph which relates to the stage is in these terms.

'And also where a great nomber of holye dayes, which now at this 'present tyme with very small devocion is solemnised and kept through-'out this your realme, uppon the which many grete abhomynable & 'execrable vices, ydle and wanton sportes, and plaies of the staige ben 'used and exercised, which holye dayes, if it may stonde with your 'gracious pleasure, and specially suche as fall in the harvest, might by 'your Majestie, by the advice of your most honorable Counsell, Prelets 'and Ordynaries, be made fewer in nombre; and those that shall be 'hereafter ordyned to stonde and continew might and may be more 'devoutly, religiously and reverently observyd, to the lawde of almighty 'god, and to the encrease of your high honor & fame.'

† The statutes of the 4 Henry IV. c. 27, against *Westours, Rymours, Ministralx et autres vacabondes*, and of the 3 Henry VIII. c. 9, against Mummers who went about in disguise, had no view to theatrical performances, or players.

'advancement of true religion and the punishment of 'the contrary.' The preamble * states, that divers persons, 'of their perverse, forward & malicious minds, 'wills & intents, intending to subvert the very true 'and perfect exposition, doctrine and declaration of the 'Scripture, after their perverse fantasies, have taken 'upon them not only to preach, teach, declare and set 'forth the same by words, sermons, disputations, & 'arguments; but also by printed books, printed bal-'lads, plays, rhymes, songs and other fantasies †:' the body of the statute therefore enacts, that no such works shall be printed or published, and that no person shall 'play in interludes, sing, or rhyme any

* Malone, not referring to the act itself, but apparently taking some puritanical writer's false representation of its contents, tells us that the preamble sets forth that the statute was passed 'with a view that the 'kingdom should be purged and cleansed of all *religious plays, inter-'ludes,* rhymes, ballads and songs, which are equally pestiferous and 'noisome to the commonweal.' (Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 32.) It may be enough to say that the act in question has no such preamble, and that '*religious* plays' are not mentioned in any part of it. It is singular that so accurate a man as Ritson should adopt Malone's mistaken representation on this point. See 'Ancient Songs,' new edit., i. lxxx.

† In his speech on dismissing his Parliament in December 1545, when he unexpectedly took the duty out of the hands of the Lord Chancellor, Henry thus alluded to the ballads, rhymes, &c., by which the Scriptures were still deformed:—'I am very sorry to know, and 'hear how unreverently that most precious jewel, the word of God, is 'disputed, rimed, sung and jangeled, in everie alehouse and tavern, 'contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same.' Hall's Chronicle, *Anno* 1545.

matter' contrary to the doctrines of the Church of Rome: the penalty in either case is a fine of £10, and imprisonment for three months for the first offence, and forfeiture of all goods and commitment to 'perpetual prison' for the second offence. To show, however, that this law was not directed against theatrical performances generally, a proviso is added in favour of 'songs, plays and interludes,' which have for object 'the rebuking and reproaching of vices, and the setting forth of virtue; so always the said songs, plays, 'or interludes meddle not with the interpretations of 'Scripture.'

How far this statute was rendered necessary by the theatrical productions of the time it is hardly possible for us to judge, since few of the interludes, intended at so early a date to advance the interests of the Protestant faith, have descended to us. That many had been written there can be no doubt; and a novel piece of evidence regarding them has fallen into my hands, which was found among Cromwell's correspondence in the Chapter-house, Westminster. It is a letter from Thomas Wylley, who styles himself Vicar of Yoxford in Suffolk, in which he complains to the Lord Privy Seal, that the priests of that county would not allow him to preach in their churches, because he had made a play against the Pope's counsellors: he also mentions in it several other dramatic performances of a religious character, of which he was the author, or which he was then composing. It is without date, but

it was evidently written after 1535, when Cromwell was appointed visitor-general of the monasteries: it is in these singular terms:—

'The Lorde make you the instrument of my 'helpe, Lorde Cromwell, that I may have fre 'lyberty to preche the trewthe.

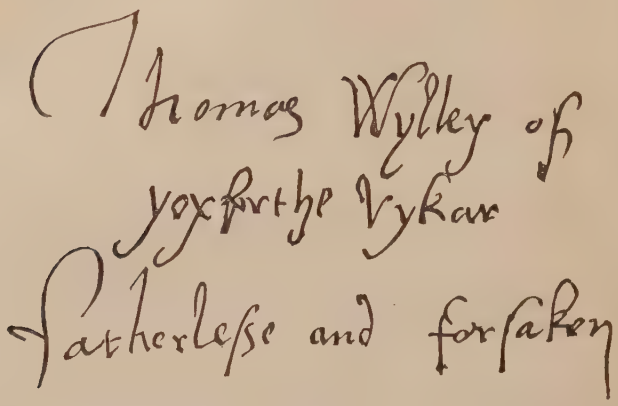
'I dedycat and offer to your Lordeshype A Reve-'rent Receyvyng of the Sacrament, as a Lenton 'matter, declaryd by vj chyldren, representyng Chryst, 'the worde of God, Paule, Austyn, a Chylde, a Nonne 'caulyd Ignorancy; as a secret thyng that shall have 'hys ende ons [once] rehersyd afore your eye by the 'sayd chyldren.

'The most part of the prystes of Suff. wyll not re-'seyve me ynto ther chyrchys to preche, but have 'dysdaynyd me ever synns I made a play agaynst the 'popys Counselerrs, Error, Colle Clogger of Con-'scyens, and Incredulyte*. That, and the Act of Par-'lyament had not folowyd after, I had be countyd a 'gret lyar.

'I have made a playe caulyd A Rude Commyn-'awlte. I am a makyng of a nother caulyd The 'Woman on the Rokke, yn the fyer of faythe a fyn-'yng, and a purgyng in the trewe purgatory; never 'to be seen but of your Lordshyp's eye.

* We have no farther intelligence regarding this piece, or any of the others of which Willey states himself to have been the author: the 'Lenten matter declared by six children,' was evidently dramatic, and his other productions 'against the Pope's counsellors,' and 'A rude commonalty' he himself terms 'plays.' The name of Thomas Wylley is new in dramatic history.

Ayde me for Chrystys sake that I may preche
' chryst.



Cromwell had been beheaded some years when the statute 34 and 35 Henry VIII. was passed, but it was aimed at dramatic productions similar to those written by Wylley, and regarding which he seems to have taken the visitor-general into his confidence. The act produced considerable alarm among the favourers of the new religion, and excited fresh animosity against the Roman Catholics. It is hardly to be expected, that these consequences should appear in contemporary publications in England; but in the very year when the statute was passed, a writer of the name of Edward Stalbridge printed abroad, and dated from Basle, ' The Epistle Exhortatory of an English Christian to his dearly beloved Country,' which contains the following vituperation, addressed to the Roman Catholics, and referring in terms to the 34 and 35

Henry VIII. c. 1 :—'None leave ye unvexed and untrobled—no, not so much as the poore minstrels, and players of enterludes, but ye are doing with them. So long as they played lyes, and sange baudy songes, blasphemed God, and corrupted mens consciences, ye never blamed them, but were verye well contented. But sens they persuaded the people to worship theyr Lorde God aryght, accordyng to hys holie lawes and not yours, and to acknoledge Jesus Chryst for their onelye redeemer and saviour, without your lowsie legerdemains, ye never were pleased with them.'

Two of Bales's religious plays, in which the principles of the Reformation are strenuously advocated, and various popish doctrines confuted, as from the mouth of the Saviour himself, were printed abroad about six years before the passing of the act in question. It is in the years 1544 and 1545 that, in the accounts of the expenses of the crown, we meet with no entries of salaries or gifts to the King's, Queen's, or Prince's players of interludes. Whether, as has been already suggested, this silence be attributable to the unsettled state of the public mind on points of religion, must be matter of speculation. A. D. 1544.

In 1546, it has been generally supposed that Henry VIII. created a new office for the management and control of the pastimes of his Court, under the title of *Magister jocorum, revellorum, et mascorum**: a patent for this purpose was granted to Sir Thomas

* Chalmers's 'Apology for the Believers,' 475.

Cawarden, who had long been one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber. There is some doubt, I apprehend, whether he was, in fact, the first master of the revels, as, in the Lansdown collection of MSS.*, I find a trace of the appointment having been given to another individual, though it was certainly not long retained by him: it is in a paper thus headed:—*Feod: pro offic: conces: per Dom Henricum nup: regem Angl: viij, pro term° vitæ;* and the particular entry to which I refer runs thus:

'*Edm. Tho. M° Jocorum et revellorum* . 10*l.*'

The M°. may be, and no doubt is to be, taken as the abbreviation of *Magistro;* and, hence it would seem, that a person, for whose names 'Edm. Tho.' stands in the account, had an annuity of 10*l.* granted to him by Henry VIII., for term of life, as master of the games and revels. The document from which this information is derived seems to have been made out just after the decease of Henry VIII., and we can only reconcile the difficulty by supposing, that there was a Master of the Revels appointed for life anterior to the patent to Sir Thomas Cawarden. Perhaps he was superseded, and the annuity of 10*l.* allowed him as a compensation for the loss. In the same MS. a player, not before nor afterwards mentioned, of the name of John Yonge, is allowed an annuity of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* as *agitator comediarum*, a more precise designation of an actor of plays than is usually given.

* No. 156.

To *Alex° Johanni et al. Music^m* were allowed 183*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*; 18*l.* 5*s.* to a 'drum-player,' and 38*l.* to two 'players upon instruments.'

It is not to be forgotten that the creation of the office of Master of the Revels did not at all render needless, according to the practice of those times, the temporary appointment of a Lord of Misrule, or, as he was afterwards sometimes called, Lord of the Pastimes, whose business it was not so much to regulate, as to provide entertainment for the Court at Christmas.

The patent of Sir Thomas Cawarden bears date 11th of March, 1545, (according to our present mode of reckoning, 1546,) and in it the place is termed, '*Officium Magistri Jocorum, Revel-lorum, et Mascorum, omnium et singulorum nostro-rum, vulgariter nuncupatorum* Revells *et* Masks,' and the salary is called '*vadium et feodum decem librarum sterlingarum**,' not so much as was usually paid to the Lord of Misrule for his services during the twelve days at Christmas. Sir Thomas Cawarden, however, derived other emoluments from his situation as one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber †. The Yeoman of the Revels had a A.D. 1546.

* The instrument is printed at length in Rymer's *Fœdera*, xv., 62.

† On the 23d of March, 33 Henry VIII., Sir Thomas Cawarden, and Elizabeth his wife, obtained, under the privy seal, a grant of the manors of Ullicote and Loxley, in the county of Warwick. By a privy seal, dated the 20th of April, of the same year, Marcus Antonio de Petala, '*unus tymphanistrorum nostrorum vocat.* sagbuts' acquired the manor of Fiddington in Gloucestershire.

salary of 9*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, and we may suppose that he discharged the more laborious duties of the office. After March, 1545-6, the following, as I find from a document in the State Paper Office, was the dramatic and musical establishment of the King.

	£.	s.	d.
Master of the Revels	10	0	0
Yeoman of the Revels	9	2	6
Eight players of interludes, at 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each per annum	26	13	4
Three singers, at 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* each	20	0	0
Two singers, at 9*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* each	18	5	0
Two harpers, one at	18	5	0
Two harpers, the other at	20	0	0
A bag-piper	12	3	4
Two flute players, one at	30	0	0
Two flute players, the other at	18	5	0
A sergeant trumpeter, and 15 other trumpeters, at 24*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each	413	13	4
	£596	7	6

This total of expense is of course independent of gifts to players, &c., on New Year's day, as well as of occasional rewards, and exclusive also of the establishment of the King's Chapel, both gentlemen and children.

When an inventory * was taken after the death of Henry VIII. of all the tapestry, pictures, plate, jewels, and other goods of which he died possessed, it was found that he had no less than 99 vizors, or 'masks of sondry sorts,' besides many sets of 'mask-

* Harl. MSS., No. 1419.

'ings beads,' at Greenwich, which he and his courtiers were in the habit of wearing. None of his other property, excepting perhaps musical instruments, was even remotely connected with the subject of the present investigation. His books are always numbered, and not named, by the parties making out the account, with the following four exceptions, two of which are curious.

'Item, a square coffer with tilles, &c. with a boke 'conteyning the ymage of both churches *.

'Item, a case of lether, conteyninge patentes con-'cernynge Quene Jane.

'Item, a booke of Kynge Henry VII., his founda-'tion of the Chappell at Westminster.

'Item, a boke wrytten in parchement of the Pro-'cesse betwere King Henry theight and the Ladye 'Katheryne Dowager.'

It does not appear that there was any production of a dramatic kind in the King's private library, unless it were included among 'sundry bookes,' the titles and contents of which are not given.

* By John Bale. I am not aware of any printed edition of this work prior to 1550.

ANNALS OF THE STAGE,

DURING THE REIGNS OF EDWARD VI. AND MARY.

Immediately after the demise of Henry VIII., the A. D. 1547. Duke of Somerset introduced various economical reforms into the royal household: many of the officers were dismissed, and a considerable reduction took place in the establishment of Musicians and Players. A MS. in the Royal Collection in the British Museum *, makes this point quite clear: one division of it is headed, 'the names of such officers in 'ordynary of the chamber of the late Kynges Majestie 'now discharged;' but it is much decayed, and although the word 'Players' yet remains, the names of those who were dismissed, originally subjoined, are wanting. The other division of the MS., entitled, 'the names 'of such of the Kynges Majesties servaunts as are 'nuely in ordinary of the chamber,' is in a perfect state, and exhibits not only the numbers, but the names of the 'Musicians' and 'Players' retained by the Protector: they are the following.

'Musicians,
Hugh Pollard,
Edward Lak,

* Royal MSS. 7 C. xvi.

Thomas Lee,
Thomas Curzon,
Allwyn Robson,
Robert Mey,
Thomas Pagington.

Players,
Richard Cok,
John Birch*,
Henry Heryet,
John Smyth.'

Here we observe several names, for the first time, included in the list of royal performers of interludes; and we may infer that, among those who were discharged, were Hinstocke, Slye, Parlowe, and Young, the mention of whom occurs late in the reign of Henry VIII. If, therefore, what is supposed to have been the Household-book of Edward VI., among the Harleian MSS., without a date, apply, in fact, to the reign of that King, it probably belongs to the period after the death of the Duke of Somerset; for there we find an entry of eight 'Players of Interludes,' each of whom received a fee of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* annually†.

* If this be the same player who is mentioned in the account-books of the reign of Henry VIII., his Christian name has been mistaken,—it was George. John was, perhaps, his son.

† The following is the form of the entry of the department of

'The Reveles.

The Mr. —— fee	. . . .	xli.
The Yoman —— fee	. . . .	ix*l.* ij*s.* vj*d.*

Musissians and Players,

Players of Enterluds	In nomber viij	Fee to every of them lxvj*s.* viij*d.* by the yeare	xxvj viij iiij.'

It is not at all unlikely, that on the accession of Edward VI., the Protector, who assumed all the authority of King, took into his pay at least some of the discharged players of Henry VIII.; and it is an undisputable fact, that the Duke of Somerset entertained a company of theatrical servants: the name of one of his performers has survived, Myles*; and, although it does not occur among those of Henry VIII., at any former period, some of his fellows might have been selected from the older theatrical retainers of the crown.

The young Prince succeeded his father on the 28th of January, 1547; and, according to the Register of the Council, on the 12th of January, a warrant had

The names of the King's minstrels are extant in the register of the Privy Council, as quoted by Chalmers (Apology, p. 348), *viz.*, Hugh Woudehous, Marshal, John Abbes, Robert Stouchey, Hugh Grene, and Robert Norman. Their salaries were 50 marks a-year (Harl. MSS., No. 240). Hugh Woudehous, or Woodhouse, received his appointment of Marshal of the Minstrells as early as 7th May, 1529, when Henry VIII. gave him wages of 4½*d.* per day, and an annual salary of 10 marks, as *Marescallus Ministrallorum nostrorum.* Vide Rymer's Fœd., vi., pt. 2. It is stated in the instrument, that he succeeded John Gylmyn in that office.

* It occurs in a work with the following title, 'A Booke of the 'nature and properties, as well of the bathes in England, as of other 'bathes in Germanye:' the writer says; 'for they [the waters of Bath] 'drye up wounderfullye, and heale the goute excellentlye (and that in 'a short tyme), as with diverse other, one Myles, one of my Lord of 'Summersettes players, can beare witnesse.' It was printed in folio, 'at Collen, by Arnold Birckman,' in 1568; but the preface is dated in 1557. The Duke of Somerset was beheaded on the 22d Jan., 1551-2.

been given to Sir Thomas Darcy for 60*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* for pikes, lances, and other necessaries, for jousts and triumph at Shrovetide, when, as was not unusual on such occasions, the performance of plays might form part of the revels: they would not come within the province of Sir Thomas Darcy, and are, therefore, perhaps, not mentioned in the warrant he obtained.

During the reign of Henry VIII., the apparel and furniture for the revels and masks at court were kept at Warwick Inn; but, when Edward VI. came to the throne, they were removed to the Blackfriars*. That dissolved monastery was valued at 104*l.* 15*s.* 5*d.*; and, on the 12th of November, 30 Henry VIII., it was surrendered to the Crown. Four years after it had been made the depositary of the dresses, &c., for court entertainments, *viz.*, on the 12th of May, 1551, Edward VI. granted to Sir Thomas Cawarden, Master of the Revels, the 'whole house, scite, or circuit, compass, and precinct of the Blackfriars†.' At this date, a person of the name of John Holte was Yeoman of the Revels, and had the custody '*omnium apparell: trap-*

* See a paper by Mr. Bray, in vol. xviii. of the Archæologia, which contains some valuable information regarding the Lord of Misrule and Court entertainments.

† Stow's Survey by Strype, b. iii. p. 177, &c. The Black and White Friars were out of the jurisdiction of the City; and in 1586, a contest arose between the Corporation and the inhabitants, as to the right of the former to enter and arrest malefactors who took shelter in the precincts. The privileges were confirmed, and the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen defeated of their claim.

pers, maskes et revells.' The Clerk of the Revels was Richard Lees, and his salary was 12*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.**, a larger sum than was allowed either to the Master or to the Yeoman; but they, perhaps, had other allowances, the nature and amount of which are not distinctly pointed out†.

The accounts of the Revels at Shrovetide, 1 Edward VI., present some curious particulars‡. They were held at Westminster; and a mount (similar to, or perhaps, the same as that mentioned in the reign of Henry VIII.) was removed from Blackfriars to Westminster, and back again. The Lord of Misrule, whoever he might be, was provided with a gilt vizard, and 563¾ yards of cloth were consumed in liveries for his attendants. One of these attendants was his fool, a part, no doubt, filled by William Somers, the celebrated jester of Henry VIII., who is mentioned by name. The plays were, probably, Morals, as a dagger for the Vice was provided among the pro-

* Lansdown MSS., No. 156. The paper is entitled 'Feod: pro offic: concess: per Dom. Edwardum nup. regem Angl. vj, pro termo vitæ.' It does not specify the salaries of any players; but it appears that Augustino Bassano, a musician, received 36*l.* 10*s.* per annum.

† Richard Bower was master of the children of the chapel in the reign of Edward VI.; and, according to Strype (Eccl. Mem., ii., 539), in June, 1552, he had a warrant authorising him to take up children from time to time to supply vacancies, as they might occur among the choristers.

‡ I am indebted here to the information supplied by Mr. Bray, in vol. xviii. of the Archæologia. The documents to which he referred were preserved at Losely, near Guildford.

perties, and a ladle, with a bawble pendent, was delivered to the fool of the Lord of Misrule. An actor was especially rewarded for playing 'the Italian,' but we have further no information as to the nature of his part. The preparations for these entertainments occupied from the 1st to the 28th of February.

According to Stow*, on Shrove Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday in the next year, 'great justs and warlike feats were done in the park at Greenwich,' for the amusement of the young King; but we have no record of the performance of plays. A. D. 1548.

The internal commotions in various parts of the kingdom, perhaps, interfered in some degree with the court amusements; and in 1549 it seems to have been thought by the advisers of the King, that it was expedient, for a time at least, to put an end to the performance of interludes and plays for the entertainment of the people. We can now only form conjectures as to the motives which led to the publication of the proclamation of the 6th of August in that year, but from its terms we may gather that theatrical representations had been at this date applied to political purposes. The statute of 34 and 35 Henry VIII. c. 1, 'for the advancement of true religion and the punishment of the contrary,' had been repealed by the act of 1 Edward VI., c. 12, and the proclamation of 6th of August, 1549, in its terms at least, does not imply that it was directed against dramatic represen- A. D. 1549.

* Chronicle 1615, p. 1002.

tations, because they touched upon matters of religion or points of doctrine. It is not, I believe, extant in the separate form of a proclamation, as it was doubtless originally printed, upon a broad sheet, but, in a collection in 8vo., printed by Richard Grafton, in 1550, 'of 'suche proclamacions as have been sette furthe by the 'Kynge's Majestie.' It prohibited the representation of interludes and plays throughout the realm from the 9th of August, 1549, (two days after it was promulgated,) till the feast of All Saints following, on the ground that they contained matter tending to sedition, and to the contempt of sundry good orders and laws. I have subjoined it in a note, but it is necessary to observe that the period of its publication has hitherto been misstated: Chalmers* gives it as 6th August, 1547: the only date it bears is 'the vj day of August,' without the year; but Grafton printed it among the proclamations issued in the 3d of Edward VI., and to that year it belongs†.

* 'Apology for the Believers,' &c., p. 344. Malone also fell into the same error. Shakespeare, by Boswell, iii. 44.

† 'The vj daie of August.

'A Proclamation for the inhibition of Plaiers.

'For asmuche as a greate nomber of those that be common Plaiers 'of Enterludes and Plaies, as well within the citie of London, as els 'where within the realme, do for the moste part plaie suche Interludes 'as contain matter tendyng to sedicion and contempnyng of sundery 'good orders and lawes, where upon are growen, and daily are like to 'growe and ensue, muche disquiet, division, tumultes, and uproares in 'this realme; the Kynges majestie by the advise and consent of his 'derest Uncle Edward Duke of Somerset, Governour of his persone, and 'Protector of his realmes, dominions, and subjectes, and the rest of his

Although this inhibition was only to be in force for less than two months, as it would expire on the 1st of November, 1550, we have evidence of an authentic kind, that it was continued in operation some time afterwards. In June, 1551, the players attached to the households of noblemen were not allowed to perform, even in the presence of their patrons, without special leave from the Privy Council *. A. D. 1551.

'highnes privie Counsall straightly chargeth and commaundeth al 'and every his Majesties subjectes of what soever state order or degree 'thei bee, that from the ix daie of this present moneth of August untill 'the feast of all Sainctes nexte commyng, thei ne any of them, openly 'or secretly plaie in the Englishe tongue any kynde of Interlude, Plaie, 'Dialogue or other matter set furthe in forme of Plaie in any place 'publique or private within this realme, upon pain that whosoever shall 'plaie in Englishe any such Play, Interlude, Dialogue or other matter, 'shall suffre inprisonment, and further punishment at the pleasure of 'his Majestie.'

'For the better execution wherof his Majestie, by the said advise and 'consent, straightly chargeth and commaundeth all and singuler 'maiors, sherifes, bailifes, constables, hedborowes, tithyng men, jus-'tices of peace, and all other his Majesties hed officers in all the partes 'throughout the realme, to geve order and speciall heede, that this 'Proclamacion be in all behalfes well and truely kept and observed, as 'thei and every of them tender his highnes pleasure, and will avoyde 'his indignacion.'

* The subsequent quotation from Dugdale's Origin. Jurid., p. 285, proves that the authorities of Gray's Inn at this date endeavoured to check the representation of interludes by members of that society:—

'In 4 Edw. 6 (17 Nov.) it was also ordered that thenceforth there 'should be no Comedies, called Interludes, in this House out of term-'time, but when the Feast of the Nativity of our Lord is solemnly 'observed. And that when there shall be any such Comedies, then all

The following is extracted from the Registers of that body, as preserved in the British Museum*.

'At Grenwiche the 21 day of June ann° 1551.

'A letter to the lord Marques Dorset signifiene 'Licence to be graunted for to have his plaieres to 'playe onlye in his lordshipes presence†.'

This inhibition, to whatever period it might have been extended subsequent to its first publication, had certainly ceased prior to April 1552; and there is every reason to believe, that the consequence was a still greater degree of license on the part of printers and players than they had before exercised. To such

A. D. 1552. an excess does it seem to have been carried, that on the 18th of April, 1552, it was found

'the Society at that time in Commons to bear the charge of the 'apparel.'

* Harl. MSS. No. 352.

† Cotton MSS., *Vitellius* F. V, contains the following paragraph regarding a play called *Jube the Sane*, performed at the marriage of Lord Strange to the daughter of the Earl of Cumberland: this event occurred in the reign of Edward VI., but the date of the year is not given. We have no other record of any such play: perhaps it was scriptural, on the story of Job:—

'The 7 day of February was my lord Strange mared to the lade of 'Comberland, the erle of Comberlands doytur, and after a grett dener 'and justs, and after tornay on horsbake with swords, and after soper '*Jube the Sane*, a playe, with lyght and cresset lyghts, lx cressets and 'c of torches and a maske and a bankett.'

In the same MS. is another notice of a 'stage-play' at some feast, which is also termed 'a goodly matter,' which lasted till twelve at night. The MS. is so injured by fire that nothing more regarding it can be made out.

necessary to issue a very strong proclamation against both, forbidding the one to print and the other to play without special license under the sign manual, or under the hands of six of the Privy Council, on pain of imprisonment without bail or mainprise, and fine at the king's pleasure. This document, however important, has hitherto escaped notice; but I found it among the volumes of proclamations belonging to the Society of Antiquaries. It is entitled 'A Proclamation set furth 'by the kynges Majestie, with the advise of his 'highnes most honorable Counsail, for the reformation 'of vagabondes, tellers of newes, sowers of sedicious 'rumours, players and printers without licence, and 'divers other disordred persons, the 18th April in the '5 yere of his highnes most prosperous reigne.' It is a long document, and only the following paragraph at the close relates to the subject before us:—

'And forbicause divers Printers, Bokeselers and 'Plaiers of Enterludes, without consideration or re-'garde to the quiet of the realme, do print sel and 'play whatsoever any light and phantastical hed 'listeth to invent and devise, whereby many inconve-'niences hath, and dayly doth, arise and follow, amonge 'the Kinges majesties lovyng and faithful subjectes: 'His highnes therfore straightly chargeth and com-'maundeth, that from hencefurth no printer, or other 'person, do print nor sel within this realme, or any 'other his majesties dominions, any matter in thenglish 'tong, nor they nor any other person do sel, or other-'wise dispose abrode, any matter printed in any forreyn

'dominion in thenglishe tongue, onles the same be 'firste allowed by his majestie, or his privie counsayl, 'upon payne of imprisonment, without bayle or mayne-'price, and further fine at his majesties pleasor. Nor 'that any common players, or other persons, upon 'like paines do play in thenglish tong any maner 'Enterlude, Play, or matter, without they have spe-'cial licence to shew for the same, in writing under 'his majesties signe, or signed by vj of his highnes 'privie counsaill: willing and straightly charging and 'commaunding all Justices, Mayors, Shirifes, Bailifes, 'Constables, and other officers and ministers, diligently 'to enquire for, and serche out al maner offenders 'within the limites and compasse of their commis-'sions,' &c.

There is nothing in either of these Proclamations to lead to the supposition, that the objection of the Court was to dramatic performances, in which the doctrines either of the Roman Catholics, or of the Reformers, were attacked: the complaint seems to have been, that they touched upon political topics, and on the 10th of June following the last Proclamation, a poet who had made plays contrary to its provisions, and who had therefore been sent to the Tower, was ordered to be liberated *.

* Mr. Chalmers (Apol. for the Believers, p. 346) first brought forward this circumstance from the Council Registers, where it is entered in the following manner.

'At Greenwich 10th June, 1552. It was this day ordered that the 'Lord Treasurer should send for the poet, which is in the Tower for 'making plays, and to deliver him.'

The entertainments at Court, consisting of Tournaments, Masks and Plays, were revived with unusual splendor at Christmas, 1551-2. At this date the Duke of Somerset, the King's Uncle, was awaiting execution in the Tower, the sentence against him being carried into effect by his decapitation, on the 22d January. Holinshed thus speaks of the festivities at Greenwich during the Christmas which preceded that event.

'Wherefore, as well to remoove fond talk out 'of mens mouths, as also to recreat and refresh the 'troubled spirits of the yoong king, who (as saith 'Grafton) seemed to take the trouble of his Uncle 'somewhat heavilie, it was devised that the feast of 'Christs nativitie, commonlie called Christmasse, then 'at hand, should be solemnlie kept at Greenwich, 'with open houshold and franke resort to court, '(which is called keeping of the hall) what time, of 'old ordinarie course, there is alwaies one appointed 'to make sporte in the Court, called commonly lord 'of misrule: whose office is not unknowne to such 'as have been brought up in noble mens houses, & 'among great housekeepers which use liberall feasting 'in that season. There was, therefore, by order of 'the Councill, a wise gentleman and learned, named 'George Ferrers, appointed to that office for this 'yeare, who being of better credit & estimation than 'commonlie his predecessors had been before, received 'all his commissions and warrants by the name of the 'maister of the kings pastimes. Which gentleman so

'well supplied his office, both in shew of sundrie 'sights, and devises of rare inventions, and in act of 'diverse interludes, and matters of pastime, plaied by 'persons, as not onelie satisfied the common sort, but 'also were very well liked and allowed by the Coun-'cill, and other of skill in the like pastimes; but best 'of all by the yoong king himselfe, as appered by his 'princelie liberalitie in rewarding that service *.'

* Holinshed, Chron. p. 1067, edit. 1587. Cotton. MS. *Vitellius*, F. V. is a very curious chronicle of events public and private, in the reigns of Edw. VI., Mary, and the three first years of Elizabeth. The writer was an ignorant man, but he had relations at court, and he speaks of his 'gossip Harper servand unto the Queens grace.' The MS. has been greatly damaged by fire, and it is not possible always to ascertain the precise dates referred to, as the leaves are not paged, and they have been here and there confused. To the occasion referred to in the text, we may assign the following minute description of the entrance of the King's Lord of Misrule into London, where he was received by the Lord of Misrule of one of the Sheriffs.—The asterisks denote places where the MS. is incomplete in consequence of the fire.

'The 4 day of January, affor non, landyd at the Tower warff the 'Kyngs Lord of Mysrull & ther met hym the Sheryffs Lord of Misrule 'with ys [his] men, and every on havyng a rebyn * * and whytt 'abowt ther nekes, & then ye trumpets, mores dansse and tabrett, & he 'toke a swaerd and bare yt afore the Kyngs Lord of Mysrull, for the 'lord was gorgyously arrayed in purpull welvet, furyd with armyn, & ys 'robe brodered with spangulls of selver full, and abowt ym syngers and 'a for hym on grett horsses and in cotts & clokes of * * * inbrodered 'with gold and with balderyks * * * whytt and blue sarsenett * * * of 'his servands in blew, gardyd with whytt; & next after ys consell in 'blew taffata, and ther capes of whytt, & ys trumpeters taburs drummers '& fluts, & ys mores dansse, gunes, mores pykes, bagpypes and ys 'masks * * * & his gaylleys with pelere stokes, & ys axe, gyffes, & 'bolts, * * * sum fast by the legs & sum by the nekes, & so rod thrughe

George Ferrers, who was thus chosen 'Master of the King's Pastimes,' (discharging in fact the functions of Lord of Misrule under a new title,) was, as Warton states, 'a lawyer, poet, and historian *,' and well qualified to give new spirit and importance to the royal revels over which he was appointed to preside. He had been selected for this purpose in November preceding, and on the 30th of that month, a warrant was issued for the advance of 100*l.* to him 'towards the necessary charges of his appointment †.' What was the total expense upon this occasion, we have no means of knowing; but, a document in the British

'Marke lane & so thrugh Grasyus strett and Cornhill * * * * trumpets 'blohyng makyng a proclamacion * * * and so the Kyngs lord was 'cared from * * skaffold; & after the Sheryffs lord and the Kyngs '* * * the Sheryffs lord a gowne with gold & sylver & * * after he 'knelyd downe, & he toke a sword and gayff * * strokes & mad ym 'knyght; & after they draw * * upon a skaffold & ys cofferers cast * * 'gold & sylver in every plase as they rod * * * after ys carege 'with his cloth saykes on horse back * * abowt chepe with ys gayllers 'and ys presonars * * & the two lords toke ther horsys & rod unto '* * mare to dener: & after he cam bake thrugh * * to the crosse & so 'done Wod-strett unto the Sheryffs * * more alf a nore, & so forthe the 'old Jury & * * unto my lord tresorers plasse, & ther they had * * 'banket the spasse of alf a nore; & so don to byshopgatt, & to ledenhall, '& thrugh fanchyrche strett, & so to the towre warffe; & the sheryffs 'lord gohyn with hym with torche lyght, & ther the Kyngs lord toke 'ys pynnes with a grett shott of gonnes, & so the sheryffs lord toke ys 'leyff of ym, & cam home merele with his mores danse daunsyng, & so 'forth.'

* Hist. Eng. Poet., iii. 208, edit. 8vo.

† This fact appears by the register of the Privy Council, as cited by Mr. Chalmers in his Apology for the Believers, p. 347.

Museum, containing a statement of the debts of Edward VI., 'externe and within the realme,' represents, that in 1551, he owed 1000*l.* to the office of the Revells under Sir Thomas Cawarden*.

A tract, entitled, 'Beware the Cat,' bearing the initials G. B. as its author, and first printed (according to Ritson, Bibl. Poet, p. 118) in 1561, and (according to Herbert, Ames, p. 1238) again, in 1584, contains some singular and hitherto unpublished particulars regarding the drama in the reign of Edward VI., and while George Ferrers was 'Master of the King's Pastimes.' It is inserted in what is termed the introduction, or 'argument,' of the work; and it not only affords a curious picture of the manners of the time, but mentions a play called *Æsop's Crow*, performed by the King's players at court, in which most of the actors were dressed as birds. It seems that the author of 'Beware the Cat,' whoever he might be, had contributed to the 'devising' of certain interludes for the King's recreation. The following is all that relates to our purpose†.

* In 4 and 5 Edward VI., the King's players exhibited at court, and received the customary reward. Garments were provided for them, as well as for the young lords, and 12*d.* is charged in the account for painting the coat of Will. Somers, the King's fool. Archæologia, vol. xviii.

† I transcribe it from a fragment of the tract (apparently of the edition of 1584), with which I was favoured by Mr. Douce. The only perfect copy I have heard of was in the hands of Herbert: it subsequently belonged to Steevens, and from Steevens it came into the possession of the Duke of Roxburghe: at the sale of the Duke of Roxburghe's books, it was bought by Mr. Heber, and is, of course, now inaccessible.

'It chaunced that at Christemas last I was at Court
'with Maister Ferrers, then Maister of the Kings
'Majesties Pastimes, about setting foorth of sertain
'Interludes, which for the King's recreation we had
'devised, and were in learning. In which time, among
'many other exercises among our selves, we used
'nightly at our lodging to talke of sundry things for
'the furtherance of such offices, wherein eche man as
'then served; for which purpose it pleased Maister
'Ferrers to make me his bedfellowe, and upon a pallet
'cast upon the rushes in his owne Chamber, to lodge
'Maister Willot and Maister Stremer, the one his
'Astronomer, the other his Divine. And among
'many other things, to long to rehearce, it hapned on
'a night (which I think was the 28 of December)
'after that M. Ferrers was come from the Court, and
'in bed, there fel a controversie between Maister
'Streamer (who with Maister Willot had already
'slept their first sleep) and mee, that was newly come
'unto bed; the effect wherof was, whether Birds and
'Beasts had reason? the occasion therof was this. I
'had heard, that the King's Players were learning a
'play of Esop's Crowe, wherin the moste part of the
'actors were birds, the devise wherof I discommended,
'saying it was not comicall to make either speechlesse
'things to speake, or brutish things to common reason-
'ably. And although in a tale it be sufferable to
'immagin and tel of some thing by them spoken, or
'reasonably doon (which kinde Esope lawdably used),
'yet it was uncomely, (said I), and without example

'of any authour, to bring them in, lively parsonages, 'to speake, doo, reason, and allege authorites out of 'authours. M. Stremer, my Lorde's Divine, beeing 'more divine in this point then I was ware of, held 'the contrary parte, afferming, that beasts and foules 'have reason, and that asmuch as men, yea, and in 'some points more. M. Ferrers himself, and his 'Astronomer, waked with our talk, and harkned to 'us, but would take parte on neither side.'

The triumphs, jousts, and masks at Christmas, 1552-3, cost 717*l.* 10*s.* 9½*d.*, as we learn from the accounts furnished from the Office of the Revels*. It is not stated who was Lord of Misrule (for by that title he is again called) on this occasion; but he undertook the part of the God of War in the Triumph of Mars and Venus, his dress costing 51*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* On new year's-day he had a different suit, valued at 34*l.* 14*s.* He was attended by Counsellors, Pages, Ushers, Heralds, an Orator, an Interpreter, an Irishman, an Irishwoman, Juglers, &c., besides his six sons (three of them base born), the eldest of whom was apparelled in 'a long fool's coat of yellow cloth of gold, all over 'figured with velvet, white, red, and green, a hood, 'buskins and girdle.' Coats were also provided for seven other fools, and the whole cost of dresses was 262*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

Among the Harleian MSS.† is a detailed account

* Preserved at Losely, near Guildford, extracts from which are to be found in Archæologia, vol. xviii.

† No. 284.

of the expense of a tournament and banquet given by the King in 1552, in Hyde Park, for which purpose no less than ninety-four 'houses or tents' were carried from Blackfriars, where they were kept. The total charge was 933*l.* 6*s.*, of which 62*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* was for 'Masks and garments,' but no dramatic performances are specifically noticed*.

During the reign of Edward VI. the Princess Elizabeth had plays performed before her, and charges of 1*l.* 10*s.* to Heywood, and of 4*l.* 19*s.* to Sebastian [Westcott?] for a play by 'the children,' are found in the account of the expenses of her household, kept by Thomas Parry, her cofferer. She also gave 10*s.* to a person of the name of Beamonde, for a play represented by certain boys under his management. The dates of these payments, or indeed of the account itself, of which they form a part, have not been precisely ascertained †.

The last piece of documentary evidence, connected with the stage and belonging to this reign, is a letter from the Privy Council to Sir T. Cawarden, dated 28th of January, 1552-3, directing him, as Master of the Revels, to furnish William Baldwin (one of the original projectors of 'the Mirror for Magistrates') with all necessaries for setting forth a play before the

* Mr. Chalmers (Apology, 477) expresses an opinion, that the annual charge for revels, during the reign of Edward VI., was about 325*l.*; but he judges only from the sum paid every Christmas to Sir T. Cawarden, which included only the expense of the court amusements at that particular season.

† Nichols, Progr. Eliz. I. viii. edit. 1823.

King to be performed on Candlemas night*. We are without any particulars of the entertainments on that occasion; but, in the Council Registers it is stated, that 326*l.* were paid to Sir Thomas Cawarden for the charges of the Lord of Misrule at Christmas.

A. D. 1553. Mary ascended the throne in July, 1553, and little more than a month elapsed before she issued a proclamation, the object of which was, among other things, to prevent the performance of plays and interludes calculated to advance the principles and doctrines of the reformation †. This document is among the proclamations preserved by the Society of Antiquaries, and my attention was first directed to it, by finding in the registers of the Privy Council the following entry of its having been prepared by that body:—

* Chalmers' Apology for the Believers, &c., p. 348.

† The manner in which the Roman Catholics and their doctrines were turned into ridicule in plays is adverted to, with some spleen, in an anonymous poem called *Pore Help*, printed without date, but in the reign of Mary, and republished by Strype in his Eccl. Mem. Rep. of Orig., ii., 34. The author thus apostrophizes the Sacrament.

'Blessed Sacrament, for thy Passion
'Hear and se our exclamation
'Agaynst these men of new fashion,
'That stryve agaynst the holy nacion,
'And jest of them in Playes,
'In Taverns and highways,
'And theyr good acts disprayse;
'And martyrs would them make
'That brent were at the stake,
'And sing Pipe meri annot,
'And play of Wilnot Cannot,
'And as for Cannot and Wilnot,
'Though they speke not of it, it skil not.'

'16*th August*, 1553.

'A Proclamation for reformation of busy medlers 'in matters of Religion, and for redresse of Prechars, 'Pryntars, and players.'

Having thus been adopted by the advisers of the Queen on the 16th of August, it was published, and bears date two days afterwards: the following is the only part of it which relates to theatrical performances.

'And furthermore, forasmuch also, as it is well 'knowen, that sedition and false rumours have bene 'nouryshed, and maynteyned within this realme by the 'subteltye and malyce of some evell disposed persons, 'whiche take upon them withoute sufficient auctoritie 'to preache, and to interprete the werde of God after 'theyr owne brayne, in churches and other places, both 'publique and pryvate: and also by playinge of 'Interludes and pryntyinge of false fonde bookes, 'ballettes, rymes, and other lewde treatises in the 'englyshe tonge, concernynge doctryne in matters 'now in question and controversye, touchynge the 'hyghe poyntes and misteries of christen religion; 'whiche bookes, ballettes, rymes, and treatises are 'chiefly by the Prynters and Stacioners sette out to 'sale to her graces subjectes, of an evyll zeale, for 'lucre and covetous of vyle gayne. Her highnes 'therefore strayghtly chargeth and commaundeth all 'and every her sayde subjectes, of whatsoever state, 'condition, or degree they be, that none of them 'presume from henceforth to preache, or by way of 'readynge in Churches, or other publique or pryvate

'places (excepte in the scholes of the universities) to 'interprete or teache any scriptures, or any maner 'poyntes of doctryne concernynge religion. Neyther 'also to prynte any bookes, matter, ballet, ryme, inter-'lude, processe, or treatyse; nor to playe any interlude, 'except they have her graces speciall licence in writ-'ynge for the same, upon payne to incurre her high-'nesse indignation, and displeasure.'

The fair construction of this instrument, interpreting the latter clause with reference to what precedes, seems to be, that no interlude should be played which touched points of doctrine concerning religion. It may be inferred, however, from circumstances which followed its promulgation, that the words 'nor to play 'any interlude except they have her graces special 'licence' were construed literally by themselves, and were employed to prevent the performance of dramas of any kind, whether they did or did not touch points of doctrine*. For more than two years the order

* In the Chronicle or Diary of Events in the reigns of Edward VI., Mary and Elizabeth, Cotton MSS. *Vitellius*, F. V., is the following entry under date of 30 May, 1554:—

'On the 30 day of May was a playre set in the pelore [pillory], and 'had his ere nayled to the pelore, for utteryng lyes, rumours and sedys-'sious words in a enterlud.'

The terms here used, 'lies, rumours and seditious words,' seem to have a clear reference to the proclamation of the 18th of August preceding. In the mean time theatrical performances were not discontinued at court, as appears by the same MS., quoted by Warton (H. E. P., iii. 218) no doubt correctly, although from the irregular state and mutilated condition of the MS. I cannot find the particular passage:

appears to have been effectual for its purpose, after which date the renewal of the representation of plays was attempted, not indeed in London, but in the country. On the 14th of February, 1555-6, Lord Rich was required by the Privy Council to put a stop to the performance of 'a stage-play appointed to be played this Shrovetide at Hatfield-Bradock in Essex,' and 'to examine who should be the players, what the 'effect of the play is, with such other circumstances 'as he shall think meet.' By the letter of thanks to Lord Rich, on the 19th of the same month, it seems that he found 'the players to be honest householders and quiet persons;' and he was therefore ordered to set them at liberty, but 'to have special care to stop the like occasions of assembling the people hereafter.'

Warton gives it in these words, speaking of the visit of Queen Mary to the Princess Elizabeth, in 1554, while she resided with Sir Tho. Pope at Hatfield House:—'The next morning, after mass, they were enter-'tained with a grand exhibition of bear-baiting, with which their 'highnesses were right well content. In the evening the great chamber 'was adorned with a sumptuous suit of tapestry called *The Hanginge 'of Antioch:* and after supper a play was presented by the children of 'Pauls. After the play and next morning one of the children, named 'Maximilian Poines, sung to the Princess while she played at the 'virginals.' At Shrovetide, 1556, (according to Nichols's Progr. Eliz. i. 16, edit. 1823) there were 'rich maskings,' and 'pageants marvelously furnished,' besides the performance of a play called *Holophernes*, at Hatfield. I have looked in vain also for this information in Cotton. MS. Vitellius, F. V., to which we are referred as the authority. When Strype used it in his Eccl. Mem. it was in a perfect state, and the partial consumption of it by fire, will easily account for the absence of much minute and curious matter.

Some proceedings in the north of England caused the interference of the Star-chamber, in the spring of the year 1556, for the total suppression of dramatic amusements. At this date the Earl of Shrewsbury was President of the North, and on the 30th of April, 1556, the Privy Council addressed a letter to him, complaining that 'certain lewd persons, to 'the number of six or seven in a company, naming 'themselves to be servants unto Sir Francis Leek, and 'wearing his livery and badge on their sleeves, had 'wandered about those north parts, and represented 'certain plays and interludes, containing very naughty 'and seditious matter touching the King's and Queen's 'Majesties, and the state of the realme, and to the 'slander of Christ's true and catholic religion *.' The Earl of Shrewsbury was, therefore, required without delay to search for the players, and on a repetition of their offence to punish them as vagabonds.

It is clear from hence that the performances of the servants of Sir F. Leek were designed to favour the Protestant religion, and on this account they were peculiarly offensive to the court. As it was perhaps found impossible to prevent repetition without putting a stop to the representation of dramatic productions of all kinds, the Star-chamber issued orders for that purpose, in Easter Term, 1556, and they were sent to the justices of the peace of every county in the kingdom, with directions that they should be rigor-

* This letter is reprinted in Lodge's 'Illustrations of British History, i. 212.

ously enforced. An end was thus at once put to whatever ambiguity might have belonged to the Proclamation of the 18th August, 1553.

Nevertheless, in June, 1557, an attempt was made to act, even in London, 'certain naughty plays,' as they were termed: one was represented on the 3d June, and on the next day the Lord Mayor was called upon by the Queen's advisers to discover and arrest the players, and to send them to the Commissioners for Religion, 'and also to take order that 'no play be made henceforth within the city, except 'the same be first seen, and the players authorised.' A. D. 1557.

Later in the same month John Fuller, the Mayor of Canterbury, arrested some players within his jurisdiction, and on the 27th June, 1557, he was thanked by the Privy Council, as we find by the Register, for his diligence, and ordered to detain his prisoners until farther orders. In the mean time 'their lewd playbook' was submitted to the crown lawyers; and after it had remained under consideration until 11th August, another letter was written to the Mayor of Canterbury, ordering him 'to proceed against the players forthwith,' and to punish them 'according to the qualities of their offences.'

On the 11th July, 1557, the Lord Rich received the thanks of the Privy Council, for his exertions in carrying into effect the orders issued from the Star-chamber in Easter Term preceding; but the magistrates of Essex seem to have exhibited a degree of slackness in this respect, which called for the censure

of the public authorities. At the date when Lord Rich was written to, they had not accomplished the object of the advisers of the crown, by the suppression of all plays, and the arrest of all players who attempted to perform, and they were accordingly admonished to carry into immediate execution the directions sent to them from the Star-chamber.

The general prohibition of all dramatic representations transmitted to the magistrates of the different counties in Easter Term, 1557, had either expired before September of that year, or, as is more likely, it had never been applied to the City of London, which might be with tolerable safety left under the superintendence of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who had always discountenanced theatrical exhibitions within their jurisdiction. On one occasion, however, the vigilance of the civic authorities seems to have been in danger of being defeated; and the Privy Council having received information, that on the 5th Sept., 1557, 'a lewd play, called a Sackfull of News*,' was to be performed at the Boar's Head, without Aldgate, they instantly sent a letter to the Lord Mayor, commanding him to apprehend and commit the actors, and to send their play-book to the Privy Council.

* The *Sakfull of Nuez* is one of the pieces mentioned in Laneham's letter from Kenelworth, 1575, but from the company in which it is placed, it should seem not to have been a piece of a dramatic kind. It is very possible that the Sackfull of News, attempted to be performed, was founded upon the ballad in the possession of Captain Cox. Laneham afterwards enumerates certain 'ancient plays,' which also formed part of the library of the Coventry leader.

It turned out, that the representation was perfectly harmless, and on the 6th Sept. the Lord Mayor was desired to set the players, whom he had arrested on the preceding day, at liberty. It is to be inferred, either that the Star-chamber orders had expired, or that they did not extend to the city, from the conclusion of this communication, where the Lord Mayor is told to give 'the players throughout the city in commandment 'and charge, not to play any plays, but between the 'feasts of All Saints and Shrovetide, and then only 'such as are seen and allowed by the Ordinary.' This allowance by the Ordinary may have been substituted for the 'special license' of the Queen, mentioned in the Proclamation issued in the first year of her reign: it agrees also with the contents of the letter to the Lord Mayor of June 3d, 1557, before noticed, and renders it more probable, that the city of London was exempted from the regulations which applied to other parts of the kingdom *.

* May-games seem to have been still allowed. 'On the 30th day of 'May, [1557 ?] was a joly may gam in Fanch-church strett, with 'drumes & gunes and pykes, and the 9 wordes [worthies] dyd ryd & 'thay had speches evereman, and the Mores-danse & the Souden & the 'Olevant with the castyel, & the Souden with yonge Morens with Tar-'getts & dartts, & the Lord and Lady of the May.' Cotton MSS. *Vitel-'lius*, F. V. On the same authority we learn, that on the '31 day of 'January my lord Tresorers lord of Mysrule cam to my lord Mare, and 'had my lord to dener; & ther cam a grett cumpane of my lord Tresorers 'men with partesans, & a grett mene of musysyoners & dyssguyssys 'and with trumpets & drumes, with ys consellors & dyvers odur offesurs, '& ther was a dulvyll [devil] shutyng of fyre, & won was lyke deth 'with a dart in hand.'

The domestic establishment of Queen Mary for Court revels and entertainments, seems, nevertheless, to have been kept up on the same footing as during the reign of her father. In the library of the Society of Antiquaries is deposited a detailed contemporary account of all the officers composing the royal household, and among them are to be observed eight 'Players of Enterludes,' each of whom received 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum. Although the names of the various musicians are furnished, with the salaries which they were allowed annexed, those of the players are not given. The authorities as to the number of players entertained by Queen Mary differ; for a MS. in the Cottonian Library *, entitled 'A Declaration of the 'ordinarie paymentes, and other expencys wherewith 'the sayde offyce [Treasurer of the Queen's chamber] 'standes charged yerelye, *communibus annis*,' mentions only four 'Interlude playors' in the following manner.

'Item, to the 4 Enterlude Playors, every of them 'at 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* ℔ Ann^m^. for their wages, and 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* 'for their liveries: in all 18*l.*'

The charge for liveries for the players, at 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* each, is new in the Cottonian MS., where, besides 185*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* for musicians, 12*l.* 10*s.* 7½*d.* are given to Mathew Becke, serjeant of the Queens bears; 14*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.* to Simon Poulter, yeoman of the bears, and 21*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* to Richard Darryngton, as master and

* Vespasian, C. xiv.

keeper of the bandogs and mastives. It is probable that the statement in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries is the more official and accurate *.

* It is as follows, and it shows that the musical and dramatic establishment of the Queen, *anno primo Reginæ Mariæ*, cost, in salaries only, £2233. 17*s.* 6*d.*:—

'THE REVELLES.

	£.	s.	d.
'The Master, Sir Thomas Cawarden . . fee	10	0	0
'Yeoman, John Holte . . . . fee	9	2	6
'MUSITIONS AND PLAYERS.			
'Serjeant, Benedict Browne . . . fee	24	6	8
'Trompetors, in number 16, every of them having by the yeare £24: 6: 8	389	6	8
'Lutars. Philip van Welder, Petre van Welder .	138	5	0
'Harpers. William More fee £18: 5: 0; Bernard Depont fee 20: 0: 0 . .	38	5	0
'Singers. Thomas Kent fee 9: 2: 6; Thomas Bowde fee 9: 2: 6 . .	18	5	0
'Rebeck. John Severnake fee . . .	24	6	8
'Sagbutts. In nombre 6, whereof 5 have £18: 6: 8 by the yere, and one £36: 5: 0 . . .	158	3	4
'Vialles. In nombre 8, whereof six at £30: 8: 4, one at £20, another at £18: 5: 0	220	15	0
'Baggpiper. Richard Woodward, fee . . .	16	3	4
'Mynstrelles. In nombre 9	155	8	4
'Drumslades. In nombre 3	54	15	0
'Players on the fluyt } Oliver Rampons, fee £18: 5: 0; Pier Guye . fee 30: 8: 4 . .	48	13	4
'Players on the Virginalles } John Heywood, fee £50: 0: 0; Antony Chounter, fee 30: 8: 4; Robert Bowman . 12: 3: 4 .	92	11	8
'Musitions Straungers. Fees	296	6	8
'Players of Enterludes } In nombre 8. Everie of them at 66*s.* 8*d.* by the yere	26	13	4
'Makers of Instruments } Wm. Baton, Organmaker £20; Wm. Tresorer, Regallmaker £10 .	30	0	0

The only instance with which we are now acquainted, when Queen Mary called on the Master of the Revels to provide for entertainments at court during her reign, was in 1557. On St. Mark's day she commanded for her 'regal disport, recreation and comfort' a 'notorious maske of Almaynes, Pilgrymes, and Irishe-'men, with their insidents and accomplishes accord-'ingly.' A warrant for furnishing Sir Thomas Cawarden with silks, velvets, cloths of silver, &c. for this purpose, was addressed to Sir Edward Waldegrave, Master of the Great Wardrobe, on the 30th of April, 1557*. For these articles Sir Thomas Cawarden gave a receipt at the foot of the warrant. These revels, no doubt, were ordered for the reception of King Philip out of Flanders, and for the amusement of the Russian Ambassador, who had reached England a short time before.

A. D. 1558. Feats of activity were also exhibited before the Queen at Christmas 1557-8, as appears by the following passage in a MS. several times before cited† :—

'The 20 day of January, at Grenwyche, the quen 'grace pensyonars dyd mustur, &c. and ther cam a

		£.	s.	d.
'The Chapell.	Thomas Bird, Thomas Tallis, George Edwards, William Hynnus, Tho. Palfreman, Richard Farrant, John Singer, and thirty others . . .	469	3	4
'Singers.	Richard Atkinson £6: 13: 4 John Temple . . . 6: 13: 4	13	6	8

* Chalmers's Apology for the Believers, p. 478.

† Cotton MSS. *Vitellius*, F. V.

'tumbeler & playd mony prate fetts afor the quen and 'my lord cardenall, that her grace dyd lyke hartely 'and so her grace dyd thanke them.'

The accounts left us in previous reigns of the representation of miracle-plays in London are comparatively few, but they seem to have been revived, and frequently repeated, while Mary was on the throne: they were calculated to inculcate and enforce the tenets of the Roman Catholic religion, and on this account they were encouraged by the public authorities. In 1556 a goodly stage-play of the passion of Christ was presented at the Grey-friars in London, on Corpus Christi day, before the Lord Mayor, the Privy Council and many great estates of the realm*. In 1557 the exhibition was repeated at the same place, on the proclamation of war against France; and in the same year, on St. Olave's day at night, the miraculous life of that saint was performed as a stage-play in the church dedicated to him in Silver-street†.

* The entry of this circumstance is made in the following terms in Cotton MSS. *Vitellius* F. V.:—'The same day begane a stage-play at the [Grey] frers of the passyon of Cryst.' The word 'Grey' has been obliterated by the fire which so unfortunately damaged this very curious record.

† Strype's Eccl. Mem., iii. 379.

ANNALS OF THE STAGE,

FROM THE YEAR 1553 *TO THE YEAR* 1575.

THE first act of Elizabeth connected with the stage was similar to that of her brother, in the third year of his reign. According to Holinshed, proclamation was made on the 7th of April, 1559, 'under the Queen's hand in writing, inhibiting, that 'from thenceforth no plaies nor interludes should be 'exercised till Alhallowes tide next insuing.' This document has not survived; but it was followed on the 16th of May by another proclamation, which is extant, and which forbade the performance of plays and interludes, unless they were first licensed by the Mayors of cities or towns corporate, by the Lords Lieutenant of counties, or by two Justices of the Peace of the place where they were to be represented: the same instrument also declared, that no dramatic piece should be so licensed, which touched matters of religion, or governance of the estate of the commonweal*.

A. D. 1559.

* The only collection, I believe, in which this proclamation exists, is in the Bodleian library. It is not to be found in the Privy Council Office, nor in the volumes of the Society of Antiquaries. Malone and Chalmers knew nothing of it. It is in the following form:—

'BY THE QUEENE.

'Forasmuche as the tyme wherein common Interludes in the Eng-'lishe tongue are wont usually to be played is now past untyll All 'Hallontyde, and that also some that have been of late used, are not

At this period, Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, had a company of theatrical servants; and in June, 1559 (the day of the month is not stated),

'convenient in any good ordred Christian Common Weale to be suffred. 'The Queenes Majestie doth straightly forbyd al maner Interludes to 'be playde, eyther openly or privately, except the same be notified 'before hande, and licenced within any citie or towne corporate by the 'Maior or other chiefe officers of the same, and within any shyre, by 'such as shalbe Lieuetenaunts for the Queenes Majestie in the same 'shyre, or by two of the Justices of the peax inhabyting within that 'part of the shire where any shalbe played.

'And for instruction to every of the sayde officers, her Majestie doth 'likewise charge every of them as they will aunswere: that they per-'myt none to be played, wherein either matters of religion or of the 'governaunce of the estate of the common weale shalbe handled, or 'treated; beyng no meete matters to be wrytten or treated upon, but by 'menne of aucthoritie, learning, and wisedome, nor to be handled 'before any audience but of grave and discreete persons. All which 'partes of this proclamation her Majestie chargeth to be inviolably 'kepte. And if any shal attempte to the contrary, her Majestie giveth 'all maner of officers, that have aucthoritie to see common peax kept, 'in commandement to arrest and enprison the parties so offending for 'the space of fourteene dayes or more, as cause shall nede: And 'further also untill good assuraunce may be founde and gyven, that 'they shalbe of good behaviour, and no more offende in the like.

'And further her Majestie gyveth speciall charge to her nobilitie 'and gentilmen, as they professe to obey and regarde her Majestie, to 'take good order in thys behalfe wyth their servauntes being players, 'that this her Majesties commaundement may be dulye kepte and 'obeyed.

'Yeven at our Palayce at Westminster, the xvj daye of Maye, the 'first yeare of oure Raygne.

'Imprinted at London in Powles Churchyarde by Richard Jugge 'and John Cawood, Printers to the Quenes Majestie. *Cum privilegio 'Regiæ Majestatis.*'

he wrote a letter in their behalf to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President of the North, which will serve as a sort of commentary on the Queen's proclamation*. It ran thus:—

My good Lorde,

'Where my servants, bringers hereof unto 'you, be such as ar plaiers of interludes; and for the 'same have the licence of diverse of my Lordes here, 'undre ther seales and handis, to play in diverse shieres 'within the realme undre there aucthorities, as maie 'amplie appere unto your L. by the same licence. I 'have thought among the rest by my Letters to 'beseech your good L. conformitie to them likewise, 'that they maie have your hand and seale to ther 'licence for the like libertye in Yorkeshier; being 'honest men, and suche as shall plaie none other 'matters, I trust, but tollerable and convenient, 'wherof some of them have bene herde here alredie 'before diverse of my Lordis. For whome I shall 'have good cause to thanke your L. and to remaine 'your L. to the best that shall lie in my litle power. 'And thus I take my leave of your good L. From 'Westm., the of June, 1559.

'Your good L. assured,

'R. Dudley.'

'*To the right honourable & my very good*
'*Lorde th' Erle of Shrewesburie.*'

* Lodge's Ill. Brit. Hist., i., 307.

Such severe measures were deemed necessary, in consequence of the prevalence of those theatrical representations which tended to oppose the progress of the reformation; and which, therefore, had been encouraged by the court of Mary, while the provisions of her proclamations were rigorously enforced against performances of an opposite character*.

That revels were held at court in the first year of the reign of Elizabeth, we know from a fact which appears in a MS. in the Lansdown collection†, that John Fortesque, the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, issued from thence in that year, for the purpose of 'setting forth the revels,' velvets, silks, cloth of gold &c., to the amount of 106*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* There is also an unprecedented circumstance connected with the amusements prepared for the Queen on this occasion: it is mentioned in the Chronicle, to which I have often before been indebted, of events in the reigns of Edward VI., and Mary (Cotton MSS. Vitellius F. V.); *viz.*, that the players were stopped in the middle of their performances in consequence of the objectionable nature of the matter they represented. The words in which this curious fact is related are these: 'The same day at nyght [*i. e.*, Christmas night,

* In his reprint of the works of Sir David Lyndsay, i. 365, Chalmers, without citing his authority, states that 'Heath, the Archbishop 'of York, in opposing the Act of Uniformity, in 1559, complained in 'Parliament of the stage plays which had been made in mockery of 'the Catholic religion.'

† Lansdown MSS., No. 5.

'1558-9] at the Quens court ther was a play afor 'her grace, the whych the placrs plad shuche matter, 'that they wher commandyd to leyff off, and conti-'nently [incontinently] the maske cam in dansyng.' Nevertheless, on the same authority, we find that on twelfth night following, 'a skaffold for the play' was 'set up in the hall, and 'after play was done ther was 'a goodly maske, and after, a grett bankett that last tyll 'mydnyght*.' These entertainments seem to have been the last which were superintended by Sir Thomas Cawarden: he died in August, 1560†, and was succeeded in his appointment by Sir Thomas Benger, the

A. D. 1560. privy seal for whose patent bore date on the 12th of January, 1559-60. This instrument is preserved in the Chapter-house, Westminster, among the privy seals of the reign of Elizabeth‡. The place

* The Queen was at Eltham in the summer of 1559, and on the 5th of August a play was represented before her by the children of Paul's, of whom Sebastian was then master. It was, probably, in English; but this point is not stated. Nichols's Progr. Eliz., i. 74, edit. 1823. See also Strype's Annals, i. 194, edit. 1735.

† Chalmers (Apology, 479) fixes the date of the death of Sir T. Cawarden in December, 1559, but this is a mistake: he lived until the August following. In Cotton MSS., *Vitellius*, F. V., his decease at the royal palace of Nonesuch is thus registered:—'The 20 day of August, 'ded at Nonshyche, Sir Thomas Carden, knyght, devyser of all bankets 'and bankett-howsses, and the M^r of Reyvells and Serjeant of Tentts.' The same chronicle informs us that Lady Carden, or Cawarden, on the 23d of February following, was carried from the Blackfriars to Bletchingly, in Surrey, and there buried.

‡ Malone mistakes a whole year, and gives as the date of Sir T. Benger's patent the 18th January, 1560-1.

is called, as in the patent of Sir Thomas Cawarden, 'officium *Magistri Jocorum, Revellorum et Mascorum*, 'communiter *vocata* Revells *et* Maskes,' and the fee of 10*l.* per annum is continued*.

Malone discovered no accounts furnished from the Office of the Revels, relative to the expenses of entertainments at court, prior to the year 1571; but the State Paper Office contains the last detail of the kind delivered in by Sir Thomas Cawarden, in all probability shortly before his decease: it was not an account of charges incurred, but an estimate of expenses for four masks, &c. which were intended to be represented in the Queen's presence. It is not signed by Sir Thomas Cawarden, but it bears internal evidence that it came from him; and the reason the estimate was made out before the exhibition took place was, that complaints had been raised of the costliness

* In March, 1559-60, the following privy seal was issued for the purpose of keeping up the establishment of the children of Windsor, from whom, it should seem, drafts had been made for the purpose of filling up vacancies in other juvenile companies:—

'Elizabeth R.

'Whereas our castle of Windsor hath of old been well furnished with singing men and children. We willing it should not be of less reputation in our days, but rather augmented and increased, declare, that no singing men or boys shall be taken out of the said chapel by virtue of any commission, not even for our household chapel: and we give power to the bearer of this to take any singing men or boys from any chapel, our own household and St. Paul's only excepted. Given at Westminster, this 8th of March in the 2d year of our reign.' Ashm. MSS., 1113, Nichols's Progr. Eliz., i., 81, edit. 1823.

of this department. The whole charge was calculated at 227*l.* 11*s.* 2*d.*, which, according to the assertion of the Master of the Revels, was nearly 200*l.* less than it had been in any preceding year. I have subjoined this very early document *literatim* in a note*.

* The only difference between the following, and the original, in the State Paper Office, is that the Roman numerals have been changed into Arabic figures.

'The Revells att Christmas and Shroftyde, Anno sēdo rei Elizabth. } An Estymate of the Charges of the Maskes, and other preparations for pastymes to be showen in the presence of the Queenes Matie at Christmas and Shroftyde in the seconde yeare of her highnes reigne, Anno Dmi. 1559.

'Foure Maskes with there torche berers, sett forth and shewen before 'the queenes Matie at Whytehawle on newe yeres even, new yeres daye, 'and Twelf daye att night, the charges in—

	£.	s.	d.
'Wages of taylors, karvars, propertie makers, wemen and 'other, woorking and attendinge theron, as by the collection 'of there dewes apereth at this presente . .	37	10	0
'Sylke for here of weemens heddes and byllyments, lace, 'frenche buttons, tarsells, and other parcells bowghte of the 'Sylkewemen, as by her billes aperethe . .	32	11	8
'Feltes and pasteborde for hatts, Buckeram for lynings 'and patternes, threed, fuell, lyghtes, Rysshes and other 'necessaryes, as by the parcells aperethe at this presente .	12	2	0
'Spangells, counterfett Stones, with the gylding, partie 'golde, colors, mowlded woorke, heres and other things for 'the furnyture and garnyture of the premysses, to gether 'amountynge as aperethe at this presente . .	13	15	0
'A remnaunte of greene clothe of golde, & a remnaunte 'of crymson vellatt sarsenatt for performaunce of the 'laste maskes, with gloves, laces & other habberdasheries 'parcells, as by the merser & habberdashers parcells 'apereth	21	12	6
	£117	11	2

It is more than probable that this estimate fell short of the sum actually expended upon the occasion, and there can be no doubt that in the following year, 1560, the charge for the Revels in the presence of the Queen was much more considerable. In an account of 'the 'revenues of the Crown, declared in the Pipe of the 'court of Exchequer *,' for 1560, is an item of 700*l.* for the office of the Revels, the whole of which was then due and unpaid. What is termed 'the Revels Book' for 1561†, including payments, A. D. 1561.

'Thother charges of theis maskes, wherof none of the 'parties have yet browght in there parcells billes & de- 'maunds, but ar uncollected, will amounte by estimacion 'to eighte or ten poundes . . . £10.

'Toe maskes of men and one maske of wemen with 'there torche berers and a Rocke, a fountayne & other fur- 'nyture thereto apertenente, prepared to be sett forthe & 'shewen in the queenes presence at Whighte Hall durynge 'the tyme of Shroftyde, wherof the whole charges will 'amounte by estimacion to . . . £100. at the leaste.

Sm^a. to^lis. £227. 11*s.* 2*d.*

'Memorandum, that the chargies for making of maskes cam never 'to so little a some as they do this yere, for the same did ever amount, 'aswell in the Queenes Highnes tyme that now is, as at all other tymes 'hertofore to the some of £400. alwaies when it was leaste.

'M^m. also, that it may please the Queenes Ma^tie to appoint some of 'her highnes prevy Counsaile, immediately after Shroftyde yerely, to 'survey the state of the saide office, to thintent it may be knowne in 'what case I found it, and how it hathe byn since used.

'M^m. also, that the saide Counsailors may have aucthoritie to appoint 'such fees of cast garments, as they shall think resonable, and not the 'M^r. to appoint any, as hertofore he hath done, for I think it most for 'the M^rs. savegarde so to be used.'

* Lansd. MSS. No. 4. † Lansd. MSS. No. 5.

in that department only, from April to September, presents a strange contrast to the economy attempted to be introduced only two years before. Within that period, while the Queen was on progress, revels were held at Westminster, Somerset Place, the Tower of London, Greenwich, Hampton Court, Windsor Castle, New Hall (*alias* Beaulieu), the Mewes, Havering, Hartford Castle, Hatfield, and Enfield: the document consists of only a single sheet, but it includes items for court amusements at all the places above enumerated, amounting in the whole to no less a sum than 3209*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.**

It has been said that 'the persecutions of preceding 'governments had left Elizabeth without a theatre, 'without dramas, and without players†.' If by the word 'theatre' be meant a building set apart for dramatic performances, it is to be observed, that her predecessors had none, nor did any exist in the kingdom until many years after she came to the throne: as to dramas, it is true that none are extant which, as far as can be ascertained, were printed during the reign of Mary; but we have already seen with regard to players, that that queen kept up the theatrical and musical establishment of her father at an expense of between two and three

* Among the 'Extracts of memorable circumstances from the account book of the Chamberlain of Feversham,' is the following entry:

	s.	d.
'1561. Given in rewardes to the Queens Majestys players	0	6 8

See Nichols' Progr. Eliz., s. a. 1561.

† Chalmers's Apology, p. 353.

thousand pounds a year, in salaries only, independent of board, liveries and incidental charges. The same establishment under Elizabeth, in the fourth year of her reign (for we have no earlier record upon the subject), was upon a much more economical scale, but eight interlude players were not omitted. The Lansdown MSS. in the British Museum* furnish us with 'the 'yerely charge of th'offyce of the Treasaurer of the 'Chamber at the present day, 29th September, A° 4^to^ 'regni,' out of which fund the expense was borne, and it contains the following items:—

	£.	s.	d.
'Trompettors wages . .	400	10	0
'Vyolons . . .	230	6	8
'Fluytes . . .	213	6	8
'Sagbutts . . .	130	17	0
'Musicyons . . .	176	18	9
'Entrelude playors . .	30	0	0
'Kepere of Beares and Mastyvs .	48	10	0
	1230	9	1†'

* No. 5.

† Harl. MS., No. 2078, purports to be 'a general account of all the offices in England with their fees in her Majesties guifte;' but at what particular date in the reign of Elizabeth it was made out is uncertain. According to this document the salary of the Master of the Revels was not 10*l.* but 100*l.* a year, which is clearly a mistake: the salary of the Yeoman is correctly given at 9*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* The expense of the 'Musitioners and Players' is there stated as follows:—

	£.	s.	d.
'Serjeant Trompeter . fee . . .	24	6	8
'Trompetors 16, fee amongst them . .	389	6	8
'Sagbutts 6, fee to five of them . . .	24	6	8
to one . . .	20	0	0

The item of 'Musicyons,' perhaps, embraced performers on other instruments besides those enumerated, as well as singers. Eight interlude players, at 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each, would cost 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; so that the remaining sum, to raise it to 30*l.*, was no doubt an allowance for liveries. The apparel of a musician was provided out of the royal wardrobe, and cost 15*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.** The expense of the Queen's Chapel at the commencement of her reign may be here added; for both the gentlemen and children contributed their shares to the entertainments at court: it is copied from a MS. in the Cottonian Collection†:—

	£.	s.	d.
'Violls 8, fee to 6 of them	30	8	4
to one	20	0	0
to another	10	5	0
'Drumslades 3, fee to every of them	18	5	0
'Players on the flute 2, fee to either of them	18	5	0
'Players on the Virginalls 3, fee to each of them	5	0	0
'Musitions straungers 7. To the foure Brethren Venetions, amongst them	183	6	8
'Players of Enterludes, to every of them	3	6	8
'Makers of instruments, fee to one	20	0	0
to the other	10	0	0

* Lansd. MS., No. 86, contains the subsequent 'Allowance of Apparrell for a Musicion owt of the Garderobe,' temp. Elizabeth:—

	£.	s.	d.
Chamlet, 14 yards at 3*s.* 4*d.* the yarde	2	6	8
Velvet, 6 yardes at 15*s.* the yarde, amounteth to	4	10	0
Damaske, 8 yards at 8*s.* the yarde	3	4	0
One furre of Budge, pryce	4	0	0
Lynen and making	1	0	0
Summa	£15	0	8

† Titus, B. iii.

	£.	s.	d.
'Master of the children*, fee . .	40	0	0
'Largesse to the children at high feasts .	9	13	4
'Allowance for their breakfasts . .	10	0	0
'Gentlemen of the Chapell, fee 19*d.* a daye apiece.'			

These fees were of course independent of board and clothing. In 1575 the twelve children were allowed board-wages at the rate of sixpence per day, amounting in the year to 109*l.* 10*s.*†

Christmas, 1561-2, was kept with great splendour at the Inner Temple. According to the Chronicle, MSS. Cotton. *Vitellius* F. V., many of the Queen's Council were present‡, and the Lord of Misrule rode through London 'in complete harness, 'gilt, with a hundred horse, and gentlemen riding gor-'geously with chains of gold, and their horses goodly 'trapped.' On the 18th of January, the same curious MS. states, that there was 'a play in the quens hall at 'Westmynster by the gentyll men of the Tempull, A. D. 1562.

* This was Richard Bower, who was continued in his office by Queen Elizabeth on the 30th of April, 1559. Rymer's Fœdera, xv. 517, shows that the salary was 40*l.* a year.

† Harl. MSS. No. 589: an account entitled 'the names of all suche persones as do receaue boardwages dayly throughoute the yeare,' &c. The names of the children are, however, not inserted. In the same paper it is said, that 'Robert Maye and 2 of his fellowes, musitions,' received board-wages at the rate of 4*d.* per day. No others are specified.

‡ See Dugdale's *Origines Juridiciales*, 150 *et seq.*, where a long account of the solemnities is inserted, which is also extracted in Nichols's Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 131, edit. 1823.

'after a grett maske, for ther was a grett skaffold in the 'hall, with grett tryhumpe as has bene sene, and the 'morow after the skaffold was taken doune.'

This play was no other than *Ferrex and Porrex*, written by Sackville and Norton, the title-page of the old printed copies stating, that it was 'shewed before 'the Queenes most excellent Majestie, in her Highnes 'court of Whitehall, the 18th Jany 1561[2], by the 'gentlemen of the Inner Temple.' On the 1st of February following, another historical play was acted at court, called *Julius Cæsar*, the name of which is furnished by the old Chronicle above quoted, and it affords, I think, the earliest instance of a subject from the Roman history being brought upon the stage. The notice is in the following terms:—

'The furst day of Feybruary at nyght, was the 'goodlyst maske cam owt of London that ever was 'sene, and a hundred & od gorgyously be sene, & a 'hundred cheynes of gold; and as for trumpetts & 'drumes, & as for torche lyght a hundered, & so to the 'cowrt, & dyvers goodly men of armes in gylt harnes, '& *Julyus Sesar* played.'

The following particulars are in themselves interesting, and will throw new light upon a rather obscure part of the history of the transactions, at this date, between Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots.

On the 10th May, 1562, a warrant was issued to John Fortescue, esquire, to deliver out of the Great Wardrobe a large quantity of silks, and other articles of the same kind, to Sir Thomas Benger, Master of the

Revels, 'for the better furnyshinge & settinge forthe 'of suche maskes and revells as shall be shewed by 'him.' These 'masks and revels' were not to be held in London, but at Nottingham, as appears by a very curious document in the same volume of MSS., which contains the preceding warrant *: it is entitled 'De- 'vices to be shewed before the Queenes Majestie, by 'waye of maskinge, at Nottingham castell, after the 'metinge of the Quene of Scotts.' To explain this document it is necessary to mention, that Mary, Queen of Scots, having returned from France in 1561, a project was set on foot in the spring of 1562 to procure an interview between her and Elizabeth. It was intended that this meeting should take place in May; but Mary being very beautiful, and Elizabeth having no pretensions of the kind, the vanity of the latter seems to have prevented the execution of this design altogether, after it had first been postponed to June †, and subsequently to August. 'Articles' drawn up in June for the interview, are printed by Dr. Samuel Haynes, among the State papers of Elizabeth to the year 1570 ‡. So certain did Sir W.

* Lansdown MSS., No. 5.

† On June 16th, 1562, Elizabeth wrote to the Earl of Huntingdon, ordering him to attend at the projected meeting between her and the Queen of Scots, which was to take place 'either at our city of York, or at some other convenient place on this side near unto Trent.' This is all that Mr. Nichols inserts regarding the event. Progr. Eliz. i. 142.

‡ Fol. London, 1749. Mr. G. Chalmers thus speaks of the intended interview.

Amidst these disquieting scenes Mary returned [from her progress

Cecill consider the meeting of the two Queens in May, that he employed some poet of the day (it is not stated whom) to draw up a scheme of the entertainments, in the nature of emblematical masks and pageants, to be exhibited before them: this scheme is the 'Devices' above mentioned, preserved among the papers of Sir W. Cecill,—a curious historical document not mentioned by any who have written upon the incidents of the lives of Elizabeth or Mary. It is as follows:—

'to the North] to Edinburgh early in May. Owing to some intima-
'tions of Randolph, before her journey to Fife, she had allowed her
'mind to dwell upon a personal interview with Elizabeth in England.
'Whether Cecil or Maitland suggested this idle purpose cannot now be
'told: Mary certainly laid the matter before her Privy Council on the
'19th May, and her counsellors left the decision of the matter to her-
'self, "if she should think her own person to be in any way in surety upon
any promise to be made by the English Queen." Mary was so little
'apprehensive of her personal safety, that she sent Secretary Maitland
'to London, to agree upon the detail of such an interview. The
'Queen wrote to Leicester upon the subject, and her chief Minister,
'the Earl of Mar, addressed a letter to Cecil upon the same business.
'For carrying it into effect a provisional treaty was actually agreed
'upon, so sincere seemed Elizabeth for the moment: but she soon
'began to vacillate between the two opinions, whether to meet or not
'to meet the Scottish Queen at Nottingham. At length, in July, she
'sent that truly respectable statesman Sir Henry Sidney to Edinburgh,
'in order to explain to the Scottish Queen, how inconvenient it would
'be to meet her personally while the troubles continued in France.
'Mary seems to have been disappointed; and with her usual amenity
'wrote her good sister, whose ruling passion was dissimulation, her
'grief in not seeing the person in this world whom she would be
'gladdest to see.'—Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 62.

'THE FIRSTE NIGHT.

'Firste a pryson to be made in the haule, the 'name whereof is Extreme Oblyvion, and the Kepers 'name thereof, Argus, otherwise called Circumspection: 'then a maske of Ladyes to come in after this sorte.

'Firste Pallas, rydinge vppon an unycorne, havinge 'in her hande a Standarde, in w^ch^ is to be paynted ij 'Ladyes hands, knitt one faste w^th^in thother, and 'over th'ands written in letters of golde, *Fides*.

'Then ij Ladyes rydinge together th'one uppon a 'golden Lyon, w^th^. a crowne of gold on his heade: 'th'other uppon a redd Lyon, w^th^. the like crowne of 'Gold; signifyinge ij Vertues, that is to saye, the 'Lady on the golden Lyon, is to be called *Prudentia*, 'and the Ladye on the redd Lyon, *Temperantia*.

'After this to followe vj, or viij Ladyes maskers, 'bringinge in captive, Discorde, and False Reporte, 'with ropes of gold about there necks. When theis 'have marched about the haule, then Pallas to declare 'before the Quenes Ma^tie^ in verse, that the goddes, 'understandinge the noble meteinge of those ij quenes, 'hathe willed her to declare unto them, that those ij 'vertues, *Prudentia* and *Temperantia*, have made 'greate and longe sute unto Jupiter, that it wold 'please hym to gyve unto them False Reporte and 'Discorde, to be punished as they thinke good; and 'that those Ladyes have nowe in there presence de-'termyned to committ them faste bounde unto th'af-'foresayde pryson of Extreme Oblyvion, there to be

‘ kepte by th'afforesayde gaylor Argus, otherwise Cir-
‘ cumspection, for ever; unto whome *Prudentia* shall
‘ delyver a locke whereuppon shalbe wrytten *In Eter-*
‘ *num.* Then Temperatia shall likewise delyver vnto
‘ Argus a key whose name shalbe *Nunquam*, signi-
‘ fyinge, that when False Report and Discorde are
‘ committed to the pryson of Extreme Oblyvion, and
‘ locked there everlastinglie, he should put in the key
‘ to lett them out *Nunquam;* and when he hathe so
‘ done, then the trompetts to blowe, and th'inglishe
‘ Ladies to take the nobilite of the straungers, and
‘ daunce.

‘ THE SECONDE NIGHT.

‘ First a Castell to be made in the haule, called the
‘ Courte of Plentye; then the maske after this sorte.

‘ Firste Peace, rydinge uppon a chariott drawen w^th^
‘ an Oliphant, uppon whome shall ryde Fryndeshippe,
‘ and after them vj or viij Ladyes maskers; and when
‘ they have marched rounde aboute the haule Frynd-
‘ shippe shall declare before the quenes highnes in
‘ verse, that the goddes Pallas hath latelie made a
‘ declaracion before all the godds, howe worthilie the
‘ night precedent theis ij vertues, *Prudentia* and
‘ *Temperantia*, behaved them selves in judginge, and
‘ condempninge, False Reporte, and Discord, to the
‘ prison of Extreme Oblyvion: and understandinge
‘ that those ij vertues do remaine in that Cowrte of
‘ Plentye, they have by there mightie power, sent
‘ this vertu, Peace, there to dwell with those ij Ladyes,

'for ever. To this Castell perteyneth ij porters, 'th'one to *Prudentia*, called Ardent Desyer, and 'th'other porter to *Temperantia*, named Perpetuitie, 'signifyinge that by Ardent Desyer, and Perpetuitie, 'perpetuall peace and tranquillitie maye be hadd and 'kept throughe the hole worlde. Then shall springe 'out of the Cowrt of Plentie conditts of all sorts of 'wynes, duringe wch tyme th'inglishe Lords shall 'maske w^th^ the Scottishe Ladyes.

'THE THYRDE NIGHT.

'Firste shall come in Disdaine rydinge vppon a 'wilde bore; w^th^ hym Prepencyd Malyce, in the simi-'litude of a greate serpent. These ij shall drawe an 'orcharde havinge golden apples, in wch orchard shall 'sitt vj, or viij, Ladyes maskers. Then Dysdaine 'shall declare before the quenes ma^tie^ in verse, that his 'M^r^ Pluto, the greate god of hell, takith no little 'displeasure w^th^ Jupiter, the god of heaven, for that 'he in the ij other nyghts precedent hath firste by 'Pallas sent Discord and False Reporte, being ij of 'his chefe servants, unto *Prudentia*, and *Temperantia*, 'to be punisshed at there pleasure: and not content 'w^th^ this, but hathe the laste night, sent unto those ij 'Ladyes his most mortall enymye, Peace, to be onlie 'betwene them ij imbraced: wherefore Jupiter shall 'well understande, that in dispite of his doings, he 'hath sent his chefeste Capitayne, Prepencyd Mallyce, 'and wyllithe ether Argus, otherwyse Circumspection, 'to delyver unto hym Discorde, and False Reporte,

'his saide Masters servants, or ells th'afforesaid ij 'porters, Ardent Dessyer, and Perpetuitie, to delyver 'hym there masters enymie, Peace, chuse them 'whether.

'Then shall come in Discretion; after hym Valyant 'Courage, otherwise Hercules, rydinge vppon a horse, 'whose name is Boldnes, Discretyon leadynge hym by 'the raynes of the brydell: after hym vj or viij Lords 'maskers. Then Discretion shall declare before the 'quenes highnes in verse, that Jupiter dothe well 'foresee the mischevous intent of Pluto, and therefore, 'to confounde his pollyces, hathe sente from heaven 'this vertu Valyant Courage, w^ch^ shalbe suffycient to 'confounde all Plutos devices: neverthelesse thos ij 'dyvells, Dysdaine, and Prepencyd Malyce, are mer-'vailous warryours; yea, suche as unlesse theis vertues '*Prudentia* and *Temperantia*, will of themselves by 'some signe or token conclude to imbrace Peace, in 'such sorte as Jupiter hathe sent hym unto them, it 'wilbe to harde for Valyant Courage to overcome 'those vyces; but if they once speake but one worde, 'the battaill is overcome as a trifle. And therefore 'Jupiter hathe willed Discretion, in the presence of 'those ij quenes, to repaier unto the Cowrte of Plentie, 'and there firste to demande of *Prudentia*, how longe 'her pleasure is of her honor, that Peace shall dwell 'between her and *Temperantia*? then *Prudentia* 'shall let downe unto Discretion, w^th^ a bande of gold, 'a grandgarde of assure, whereuppon shalbe wrytten, 'in letters of gold, *Ever*. Then Discretion shall

'humblie demande of *Temperantia* uppon her honor, 'when Peace shall departe from *Prudentia*, and her 'grace? Then *Temperantia* shall lett downe unto 'Discretyon a girdell of assure, studded w^th^ gold, and 'a sworde of stele, whereuppon shalbe written, *Never;* 'wch grandgarde, and sworde, Discretion shall bringe, 'and laye at the fete of the ij quenes. Then Discre-'tion (after a fewe words spoken) shall before the 'quenes highnes, arme Valyant Courage, otherwise 'Hercules, w^th^ the grandgard of *Ever*, and gyrte 'hym w^th^ the sworde of *Never:* signifying that those 'ij Ladies have professed that Peace shall ever dwell 'w^th^ them, and never departe from them; and signi-'fyinge also that there Valyant Courage shalbe ever 'at defyance w^th^ Disdaine and Prepencyd Mallice, 'and never leave untill he have overcome them. And 'then shall valyant courage alone go and fight w^th^ 'thos ij; in the myddeste of wch fight, Disdaine shall 'rune his wayes, and escape w^th^ life, but the monster, 'Prepenced Mallyce, shalbe slaine for ever: signify-'inge that some vngodlie men maye still disdaine the 'perpetuall peace made betweene those ij vertues, but 'as for there prepenced mallice, it is easye troden 'under theis Ladyes fete. After this shall come out 'of the garden, the vj or viij Ladies maskers, w^th^ a 'songe, that shalbe made hereuppon, as full of armony 'as maye be devised.'

This paper is endorsed, 'May, 1562,' in the hand-writing of Sir W. Cecill, and in short-hand he seems to have added something respecting the interview, and

the despatch of Sir Henry Sydney to Scotland, in July, 1562, to excuse its postponement.

The plague, or, more properly, an infectious and fatal fever, brought by the English troops from Holland, raged furiously in the year 1563; and it is recorded by Camden, that no less than 21,530 persons perished in London. Archbishop Grindall took this opportunity of using his exertions for the inhibition of all popular dramatic amusements for a year, if not entirely and for ever. 'The players (says Strype*) he called an idle sort of people, which had been infamous in all good commonwealths. These men did then daily, but especially on holidays, set up their bills inviting to plays, and the youth resorted excessively to them, and there took infection. He complained to the Secretary that God's word was profaned by their impure mouths, and turned into scoffs. And by search, he perceived there was no one thing of late more like to have renewed the infection, there being such vast resort thither. And therefore he advised for the remedy hereof, that Cecil would be the means of a proclamation to inhibit all plays for one whole year; and if it were for ever,' added he, 'it were not amiss: that is, within the City or three miles compass, upon pains, as well to the player, as to the owners of the houses where they played their lewd interludes.'

A. D. 1563.

We are without any record to show that his advice

* Life of Grindall, p. 122, edit. 1821.

was effectual upon this occasion, although it is most probable that it was adopted as far as regarded the temporary prevention of the performance of plays, a course afterwards usual in times of great sickness.

In the State Paper Office is deposited an account, headed, 'a breif Estimat of all the charges agaynst 'Christmas and Candellmas [1563] for iij plays at 'Wyndsor,' including also the 'repayringe and new 'makinge of thre Maskes, with thare hole furniture and 'divers devisses, and a castle for Ladies, and a har-'boure for Lords,' &c., shewn before the Queen and the French Ambassadors at Richmond in the summer of 1564; and, finally, 'the repayringe and translatinges 'of sunderie garments for playes at Cristmas, and 'Shroftid' [1564-5]. The cost of the whole was 444*l.* 11*s.* $5\frac{3}{4}$*d.*, and it only embraced a small part of the expenses incurred on these occasions; for the wages and diets of the tailors, mercers, painters, &c. employed, without any charge for materials, which seem to have been varied and costly. Castles, towns, &c. were represented, covered with painted canvass, 'a rocke or hill for the Muses to singe upon,' and chariots for Diana and Pallas. This document is furnished with dates and marginal notes in the hand-writing of Sir W. Cecill, from which we gain the interesting fact, not elsewhere recorded, that Richard Edwards (whose name will again occur presently) was the author of a 'tragedy' (possibly his *Damon and Pythias*) acted before the Queen at Christmas, 1564-5, by the children of the Chapel of whom he was

then master*. In January, during the festivities of Twelfthtide, the boys of 'the grammer skolle of Westminster,' and the children of Paul's, performed at Court; and on the 18th of February, the Queen was entertained by the sons of Sir Perceval Hart, for whose play among other things, 'divers cities, townes, and the Emperoure's pallace' were necessary. At Shrovetide the gentlemen of Gray's Inn presented her Majesty with 'divers showes,' which no doubt were maskes in which Diana and Pallas were introduced, no play, as in the other instances, being specifically mentioned.

During her progress in the summer of 1564 the Queen visited the University of Cambridge, and was entertained at King's College with a play 'called *Ezechias* in English†.' It was made by Nicholas Udall (the author of an older play, named *Ralph Roister Doister*), which establishes that he did not die in 1557, as has been generally supposed. Of course *Ezechias* was a sacred drama, founded upon the Second Book of Kings.

The sum expended upon the court revels in 1565

* Chalmers (Apology, p. 354) inserts this document, but with various mistakes; and he made such sad work in decyphering the handwriting of Cecill, that he did not find out that the play by the children of the Chapel at Christmas, 1564-5, was a tragedy by Edwards: what Cecill writes *Edwd's tragedy*, Chalmers printed merely as the name of an individual, *Edwd Hayedy;* but there can be no doubt about the correct reading of the words.

† Nichols's Progr. Eliz., i. 186, edit. 1823.

does not appear from any document yet discovered; but an account of the debts and payments of the Queen in that year* (prepared as it should seem by the special direction of Sir W. Cecill) shows, that on the last day of October, 1565, 50*l.* remained due and unpaid to the Office of the Revels. Sir W. Cecill, in his own hand, has registered the payment of that sum to Sir Thomas Benger. A. D. 1565.

On the 3d of September, 1566, Queen Elizabeth witnessed the performance of Edwards's *Palamon and Arcyte* in the hall of Christ Church, Oxford†, when she presented eight guineas to one of A. D. 1566.

* Cotton MSS. Titus B. iii.

† Stow, in his Chronicle, mentions the name of the play, and adds that 'it had such tragical success as was very lamentable: for at that 'time, by the fall of a wall and a paire of staires and great prease of 'the multitude, three men were slain:' p. 1118, edit. 1615. This accident seems to have happened on the first evening when the piece was performed, and when the Queen was not present. Peshall's Hist. of Univ. Oxford, p. 227. The following is Anthony Wood's account of the catastrophe, given from his MS., as corrected by Gough, and quoted in Nichols' Progr. Eliz., i. 210: 'At night (Sept. 2d) the Queen 'heard the first part of an English play, named *Palæmon* or *Palamon* 'and *Arcyte*, made by Mr. Richard Edwards, a gentleman of her 'Chapel, acted with very great applause in Christ Church Hall: at 'the beginning of which play there was, by part of the stage which 'fell, three persons slain, *** besides five that were hurt. Afterwards 'the actors performed their parts so well, that the Queen laughed 'heartily thereat, and gave the author of the play great thanks for his 'pains.'

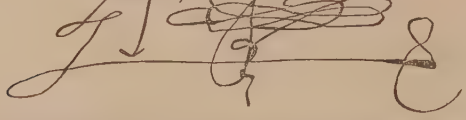
On the 5th of September, as we learn on the same authority, a Latin play, called *Progne*, by Dr. James Calfhill, was acted; 'but it did not take half so well as the much admired play of *Palamon and Arcyte*.'

the young performers who gave her peculiar satisfaction. We have no record of any revels at court in this year*.

Revels were, however, held at Gray's Inn, where George Gascoigne's† prose comedy, *The Supposes*,

* On the 18th of April, 1566, a warrant under the Privy Seal was granted to Sir T. Benger, 'Mr of our Revells,' to purchase in England, and to export for his own advantage, 300 tons of beer.

† George Gascoigne, the son of Sir John Gascoigne, after a life of much diversity, died at Stamford on the 7th of October, 1577, as is supposed, at about the age of forty; so that when he produced these two plays he was only twenty-nine years old. He afterwards served in Holland, and wrote an account of the 'Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth,' in 1575, at which he was present. He was subsequently in great distress, was confined in the Counter (according to Nash's 'Strange News,' 1592), and after his release presented Queen Elizabeth with 'The Tale of Hermetes the Heremyte,' in English, Latin and Italian; which tale had been 'pronounced before the Queens Majesty at Woodstock.' This story is preserved in the British Museum [Royal MSS. 18 A xlviii], in the hand-writing of the author, who subscribes the address thus:—



Whether the drawing by which it is preceded (representing him on his knee before the Queen, one side of his person being in armour and the other in the dress of a civilian, with a pen in his ear) was executed by himself may be doubted, as it is finished apparently by the hand of an artist. The following lines accompany it:—

'Beholde (good Quene) a poett with a speare,
'(Straunge sightes well markt are understood the better)
'A soldyer armde with pensyle in his eare;
'With penne to fighte, and sworde to wryte a letter:

translated from Ariosto, and his blank-verse tragedy of *Jocasta*, from Euripides, (in adapting which he was assisted by Francis Kinwelmersh and Christopher Yelverton,) were represented.

The total expense of the wages of plumbers, painters, bricklayers, &c. employed in making preparations for 'the revels in the hall' at Shrovetide, 1567, was only 29*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.*, as appears by the 'Payebooke' preserved in the Lansdown Collection*, where the sum is inserted under the following head:—'Charges done for the Revells in the Hall uppon Shrove Sondaye, and Shrove Tuisdaye at nyghte.' The workmen were employed for fourteen days.

Among the Harleian MSS. I discovered a very minute account of the entertainments before the Queen and her court in 1568†. It is contained in a warrant for the payment of 634*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.* to Sir Thomas Benger, for materials and work 'within the Office of the Revels,' between the 14th of July,

A. D. 1568.

'His gowne haulffe of, his blade not fully bownde,
'In dowbtfull doompes which waye were best to take;
'With humble harte, and knees that kysse the grownde,
'Presentes hymselfe to you for dewtyes sake:
'And thus he saithe: no daunger (I protest)
'Shall ever lett this loyall harte I beare
'To serve you so as may become me beste,
'In feilde in towne in cowrte or any where.
'Then, peereles prince, employe this willinge man
'In your affayres to do the beste he cann.
'*Tam Marti quàm Mercurio.*'

* Lansdown MS. No. 9.

† Harl. MS. No. 146. It consists of warrants dated in the 10th, 11th, and 12th years of Elizabeth.

1567, and the 3d of March, 1568. During this interval 'seven plays' and one 'tragedy' had been represented before the Queen, the titles of which are all given with unusual particularity: it is the earliest record in which so much minuteness is observed, and the mere enumeration of the names of the plays furnishes us with some notion of the nature of the performances. The plays were the following, not one of which has survived*:—1. *As plain as can be;* 2. *The Painful Pilgrimage;* 3. *Jack and Gill;* 4. *Six Fools;* 5. *Wit and Will;* 6. *Prodigality;* 7. *Orestes.* We might have concluded that *Orestes* was a tragedy, as well as *The King of Scots*, (which forms the eighth piece performed) had it not been distinguished as not belonging to that class. The scenery (if it may so be called), and, other mechanical contrivances, are also enumerated, *viz.*, Strato's house, Dobbin's house, Orestes' house, Rome, the Palace of Prosperity, Scotland, and a great castle. The sum for which the warrant was made out also included the expense of six masks, only four of which appear to have been exhibited. I subjoin this interesting document in a note†.

* At least under these titles: 'Prodigality' may possibly have been the original of 'the Contention between Liberality and Prodigality,' 1602, obviously much older than the date when it was printed.

† 'Revels. Sir Thomas Benger.

'Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Qwene of Englande, France, and 'Irelande, Defender of the faithe, &c. To the Trer and Chamber-'laynes of our Exchequer gretinge. Whereas it apperethe by a 'Legiere Booke, subscribed under the handes of the officers of oure

The same MS. furnishes the expense of the Revels in the next year, 1569; the warrant for the payment of which bears date 10th of May, A. D. 1569.

'Revells, and remayninge with the Auditors of our preste, that ther is 'growne due to ceartayne Credditors, Artificeares, and Woorkmen, for 'stuffe deliv'de and woorke donne within thoffice of our Revells, from the 'xiiij day of Julye in the ix^th^ yeare of our Raigne, untill the third daye 'of Marche in the tenthe yeare of our saide Raigne, the some of six 'hunderede fowre and thirtie poundes nyne shillings and five-pence, 'ymployed uppon theis Playes, Tragides and Maskes following, *viz.*, 'Imprimis for seven playes: the firste namede, *as playne as canne be;* 'the seconde, *the paynfull plillgrimage;* the thirde, *Jacke and Jyll;* 'the forthe, *Sixe fooles;* the fivethe callede, *witte and will;* the sixte 'callede *Prodigallitie;* the seventhe of *Oreste;* and a Tragedie of the '*kinge of Scotts:* to ye whiche belonged divers howses for the settinge 'forthe of the same, as *Stratoes howse*, *Dobbyns howse*, *Orestwes howse*, '*Rome*, *the Pallace of prosperitie*, *Scotlande*, and a gret Castell one 'thothere side. Likewise for the altering and newe makinge of sixe masks 'out of ould stuffe, with torchbearers therunto, wherof iiij hathe byne 'shewene before us, and two remayne unshewen. Wherfore our will 'and pleasure is y^t^ of suche our tresure as rem [remaineth] presentlie 'in y^e^ Receipte of our Exchequer, or that hereafter shall come into the 'same, you contente and paye, or cause to be contentede and payde, 'unto our trustie and wellbelovede searvaunte, Sir Thomas Benger, 'knight, or his Assigne, the sayde some of vj c xxx iiij *li.* ix*s.* v*d*, to be 'payed oute unto the sayed Credditors, and suche otheres as the same is 'owinge unto. And theis our lres. shalbe your sufficient warraunte 'and dischardge in this behalfe. Geven under our privie Seale, at our 'manor of Grenwich, the xi daye of June, in the tenth yeare of our 'Raigne. 'Kerry.'

'Sir Thomas Benger, Knight, M^r^ of the Revelles.'

(Harl. MSS., No. 146.)

The tragedy of *Tancred and Gismunda*, by R. Wilmot and other students of the Inner Temple, was also this year played before Queen Elizabeth. See Dodsley's Old Plays, ii. p. 157, edit. 1825.

1570, for the sum of 453*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.** It states, only in general terms, that 'playes, tragedies, and masks' had been performed at Christmas and Shrovetide; but it gives the names of none of them. The same remark will apply to a third warrant for the Revels of 1570; it is dated 29th of July, 1571, and is for 499*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*, and speaks merely of 'playes, tragedies and masks.'

A. D. 1570.

In the office of the Auditors of the Imprest, Malone found various accounts of the Revels, the oldest, as has been before remarked, dated in the early part of 1571, and entitled, 'Revels in one yeare, 'ending on Shrovetewsdaye, in the 14th yeare 'of our Soveraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth †.' It goes into a vast variety of uninteresting and useless details, but mixed up with them are some curious and important matters. The total expense of the Revels for the year preceding Shrove Tuesday, 1571, was 1558*l.* 17*s.* 5½*d.*, and the following are the six plays upon which that sum had been expended.

A. D. 1571.

'*Lady Barbara*, showen on Saint Johns day at 'nighte, by Sir Robert Lane's men.

'*Effigenia*, a tragedye, showen on the Innocents 'daie at nighte, by the children of Powles.

'*Ajax and Ulisses*, showen on new years daie at 'nighte, by the children of Wynsor.

* Harl. MS., No. 589, is 'a brief of monies paid by warrant of 'Privy Seal, Ao 10 Eliz., 1569,' and contains an entry of '453*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* 'for the revels'

† Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, iii., 364.

'*Narcissus*, showen on Twelfe daye at nighte, by 'the children of the Chappell.

'*Cloridon and Radiamanta*, showen on Shrove 'Sunday at nighte, by Sir Robert Lanes men.

'*Paris and Vienna*, showen on Shrove Tewsdaie 'at nighte, by the children of Westminster.'

Malone has correctly remarked, that it seems to have been part of the duty of the Master of the Revels to have the plays rehearsed before him before they were presented at court; and this account adds, that the preceding six plays 'were chosen owte of many, 'and founde to be the best that were then to be 'had.' Besides the plays, six masks were performed, and among the properties for both are horse-tails, hobby-horses, 'branches of silk, and other garniture for pageants,' sceptres, wheat-staves, bodies of men in timber, dishes for devils eyes, devices for hell and hell-mouth, bows, bills, dags, swords, spears and fire-works. In the play of Narcissus, a fox was let loose in the court and pursued by dogs, for providing which, (with other necessaries,) a charge is made of 20*s.* 8*d.*: counterfeit thunder and lightning in the same play were procured at an expense of 22*s.*: twenty-one vizards, with long beards, and six Turks' vizards, were furnished by a person of the name of Thomas Gyles, whom Malone supposes to be the same who was afterwards master of the children of St. Paul's.

This supposition is probably mistaken. Thomas Gyles (or, as he spells his own name, Gylles) was a person whose trade it was to let out apparel for public

and private entertainments; and in the very year of which we are now speaking, 1571, he made a complaint in writing to Sir William Cecill (among whose papers it is found*) that the Yeoman of the Queen's Revels injured his business and the Queen's dresses, by improperly, and for hire, allowing them to be taken out of the office in order to be worn at marriages, banquets, &c., in town and country †.

* Lansd. MSS., No. 13.

† The following is the opening of Gyles's representation to Lord Burghley.

'Wheras the yeman of the quenes Magestyes revells dothe usu-
'allye lett to hyer her said hyghnes masks, to the grett hurt,
'spoyle and dysoredyr of the same, to all sort of persons that wyll
'hyer the same, by reson of wyche comen usage the glosse and
'bewtye of the same garments ys lost, and cannot so well serve to
'be often alteryd, and to be shewyde before hyr hyghnes, as otherwyes
'yt myght and hath byn usyde; for yt takythe more harme by once
'werynge into the cytye or contre, where yt ys often usyd, then by
'many tymes werynge in the court, by the grett presse of people, and
'fowlnes bothe of the weye and soyll of the werers, who for the most
'part be of the meanest sort of mene, to the grett dysoredyrr of the
'same aparrell, which afterwarde ys to be shewyd before her heyghnes
'and to be worne by theme of grett callynge: and ytt is also to the
'doble charges of hyr grace.'

He prays, therefore, that some remedy may be afforded, by taking the garments to pieces after they have been worn at court, or otherwise; and subjoins a list of twenty-one instances in which he can prove, that the apparel of the Revels had been thus let out to hire: they are curious, as they shew the extreme frequency of entertainments at which such dresses could be employed. The list is entitled,

'A noett off certeyne maskes of the quenes magestyes, which hathe
'been lent by the offycers of the revells, syns the fyrst of Janvarye last
'past, 1571.

In the year 1571, the Queen was at Saffron Walden, where she was probably attended by the Earl of Lei-

'1. In primis the gownes of red clothe of golde, wyche was alteryd 'for lyncolnes In, Janvarye last.

'2. Item the yello clothe of golde gownes, lent to greyes In in 'Janarye.

'3. Lent the new mask of blak and whytt, which was shewyd before 'the quene in the crystmas holydays: the same mask was lent to the 'temple in the crystmas tyme.

'4. Lent the same mask of blak and whytt to my lord mayor, on 'twelff nyght last.

'5. Lent the yello clothe of golde gownes to the horshed tavern in 'chepsyde, the 21 of Janvary.

'6. Lent the yello clothe of golde gownes from the bullhed in chep 'to Mr. Blanks, the 28 of Janvarye.

'7. Lent the new masks of blak and whytt gounes to edward 'hynds maryage into Kent, 10 of february.

'8. Lent the changable taffyte gownes, new the 14 of febrarye, from 'the Seynt Jhn° hede to Mr. ryves into flett strett.

'10. 11. Lent on shrove sondaye ij masks of gownes into the char- 'howse yarde.

'12. Lent the mask of blak and whytt gownes on maye yeve, which 'cam throw chepsyde.

'13. Lent the new morre satten gounes, the 6 of maye, to my lady 'chempyons.

'14. Lent the red clothe of gold gownes into Kent, the 7 of Sep- 'tembre, beyng worn ij nyghts.

'15. Lent the red clothe of golde gownes to a taylor maryag in the 'blak fryer, the 15 of Septembre.

'16. Lent the coper clothe of golde gownes, which was last made 'and on other mask into the contre, to the maryage of the dowter of 'my lorde montague.

'17. Lent the red clothe of golde gownes into the bedgrowe, the 6 of 'octobre.

'18. Lent the new maske of coper clothe of gold gounes to denmans 'marag, the 14 of octobre. '19. Lent

cester's players, as in the Town Treasurer's accounts of that year is an entry of a reward of 2*s.* 6*d.* paid 'Lord Leicesters Men,' while Elizabeth was there*.

Warton † mentions the grant, in 1571, of a licence to a person of the name of Swinton, 'to have and use 'some plays and games at or uppon nine severall son-'daies,' and he expresses a doubt, whether something dramatic may not have been included. The 'plays and games' specified are shooting with the broad arrow, leaping, pitching the bar, 'and the like;' and the general clause at the end, 'with all such other 'games as have at anye time heretofore, or now be, 'licensed, used or played,' does not seem at all to embrace theatrical representations: it alludes rather to tennis, bowling, &c., which had been often forbidden, and were now only allowed under particular permission. For this purpose, on the 11th of March, 1560, a warrant, under the Privy Seal, had been issued in favour of Edward Roberts, gentleman, who was thereby authorized to 'use and occupy the pastyme of bowling,' in or at his dwelling house, 'for the recrea-'tion of all manner our true subjects,' &c., 'prentises 'and other lewd persons only except.'

'19. Lent the red clothe of gold gownes the 14 of Octobre to Den-'mans maryage.

'20. Lent the 2 of novembre the yello clothe of golde maske into flett 'strett by the churche.

'21. Lent the 11 of novembre the blak and whytt gownes into soper 'laen, to Mr. Martyns maryage.

* Nichols's Prog. Eliz., i. 281, edit. 1823.

† H. E. P., iii. p. 153, edit. 8vo.

Among the Cottonian MSS. there is a very particular account of the whole expense of the musical and dramatic establishment of Elizabeth in 1571, under the head:—'Th'office of the Treasorer of the Quenys Majesties chamber,' including 'the ordinary payments and other expenses' of that office. Hence we find that she had 18 trumpeters, 7 violins, 6 flutes, 6 sackbuts, 10 persons called musicians, who were probably singers (or 'musicians for the voice' as they were sometimes called) and 4 interlude players; besides 3 keepers of bears and mastives, who were not unfrequently required to contribute to the amusement of her Majesty*. The total annual charge was the sum of 1289*l.* 12*s.* 8½*d.* It should seem also from

* The account is made out in the following manner; and it is contained in Cotton MS. Vespasian C xiv.:—

		£.	s.	d.
Wages of Trompetors, xviij	Itm to Benedick Browne, Sergeaunte Trompetor, and xiiij other trompetors, at 16*d.* per diem, and to iij other, at 8*d.* per diem; for all their wages per annum . . .	401	10	0
Vyolens, vij	Itm to the vyolons, being vij of them, every one at 20*d.* per diem for their wages, & 16*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* for their lyveries. In all per Ann.	325	15	0
Fluytes, vj	Itm to the Fluytes, being vj in nombre, viz. Guyllam Duvet at 14*d.* per diem. Pyro Guye at 2*s.* 8*d.* per diem. Thomas Pagyngton at 12*d.* per diem. Allen Robson at 12*d.* per diem. James Furyarte at 20*d.* per diem, and Nicholas Lanyer at 20*d.* per diem for his wages—for his bowrde wages 7*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* and for his liveryes yerely 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* In all per Ann.	188	4	2

a MS. in the Lansdown Collection* that in the following year some inquiry was instituted into the increased expense of this department; when it appeared that the salaries of the seven performers on the violin had been increased by the addition of 155*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*— of the six flute players by the addition of 15*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.*

		£.	s.	d.
Sagbutts, vj	Itm to Antony Maria and John Lanyer, Sagbuts, every of them at 16*d.* per day for their wages. Raulf Grene at 16*d.* per diem for his wages. Robarte May, Edwarde Petala and Robart Howlet for their wages, every of them at 8*d.* per diem. And to the sayde John Lanyer and Raulf Grien for their bourde wages, every of them at 4*d.* per diem. In all per Ann.	121	13	4
Musicions, x	Itm to the Musycions viz. to Rychard Woodwarde and Robarte Woodwarde for their wages, every of them at 8*d.* per diem— Rycharde Pike at 12*d.* per diem, and to the vj bretherne Bassanyes and Antony Maria, every of them at 16*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* yerely for their liveryes. In all per Ann. . . .	185	17	6
Interlude playors iiij	Itm to the iiij Enterlude playors, every of them at 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per Ann. for their wages, and 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* for their liveryes. In all .	18	0	0
Keapars of Beares & Mastives, iij	Itm to Mathew Becke, Sergeaunte of the beares, for his wages per Ann. . .	12	10	7½
	Item to Symon Powlter, yoman, per Ann.	14	16	3
	Itm to Richard Darryngton, M^r^ and Kepar of the bandogges and mastives per Ann.	21	5	10

* Lansdown MS., No. 12; being an account, showing the increase of payments by the Treasurer of the Queen's Chamber in 1572.

—of six players on sackbuts by the addition of 69*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*—and of ‘ 5 musycions with More, the harp,’ by the addition of 36*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* Whether reductions were then made to this, or to any other extent we are not informed.

In this year we have a legislative proof, if any were wanting, of the extreme commonness of the profession of an actor over the whole kingdom. We have seen that companies of players, acting as the servants of the nobility, travelled round the country as early as the reign of Edward IV.; and from that date until 1572, itinerant performers, calling themselves the retainers of the nobility, had become so numerous, that it was found necessary to pass a statute for their regulation and control. The 14th Eliz., c. 5, was devised for this purpose; and in section 5 it provides, that ‘ all fencers, bearwards, ‘ common-players in interludes and minstrels, not ‘ belonging to any Baron of this realm, or towards ‘ any other honorable personage of greater degree; all ‘ juglers, pedlars, tinkers and petty chapmen, which said ‘ fencers, bearwards, common-players in interludes, and ‘ minstrels, &c. shall wander abroad, and not have ‘ licence of two justices of the peace at the least,’ shall be deemed, and dealt with as rogues and vagabonds*. A. D. 1572.

* Malone does not seem to have been aware of the existence of this statute (Shakespeare, by Boswell, iii. 48), and refers to the 39th of Eliz., c. 4, as the first act which, by implication, authorized noblemen to license players. The 39th of Elizabeth was passed to revive the 14th of Elizabeth, the terms of which it nearly follows, requiring in addi-

The evil was, that many companies strolled about the kingdom without any authority or protection, although pretending to have it, and all such by the statute are declared rogues and vagabonds, and liable to the treatment and punishment inflicted upon such persons.

The revels between Shrovetide, 1571, and May 31, 1572, were more than usually costly. 'A brief declaration' of the charges for 'new making, setting 'forthe, & furnishing divers maskes and playes showen 'before her Majestie †,' proves the expense to have been 3905*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.* No particulars are given to enable us to judge of the nature of the performances, beyond an item for 'the hire of armour for settinge forthe of divers playes.' In the Chapter-house, Westminster, is a Privy Seal by the Queen, dated 4th May, 1572, for the payment of 50*l.* to 'Lewes Stocket, Esquire, Surveyor of the Works,' for what he had done towards the representation of 'Playes and Tragedies at Christmas, and Shrovetyde last.'

Stow and Holinshed agree in stating, that after the conclusion of the league with France, the Duke de Montmorency, Paule de Foix, and Bertrand de Saligners arrived in this country as ambassadors 'about the ninth of June, 1572.' Magnificent preparations

tion, that the players of the nobility, wandering abroad, should be 'authorized to play' under 'the hand and seal of arms' of the Baron or personage of greater degree. The evil had doubtless increased in 1595, and a question had perhaps arisen how strolling companies were to prove their protection.

† Lansdown MS. No. 9.

were made for their entertainment, and a Privy Seal was issued, dated the 18th June, 1572*, for the payment of 300*l.* to John Fortescue, Esq., Master of the Great Wardrobe, and of 200*l.* to Lewes Stocket, Surveyor of the Works, for the revels and triumphs on this occasion. In the British Museum, is an account dated 12th July, 1572, in the French language, of all the cloth of gold, silks, velvets, &c., furnished by John Fortescue, Esq. to Sir Thomas Benger, *Maitre de les Maskes, Revelles et Triumphes,* the value of which was no less than 3757*l.* 8*s.* † By a statement in the Office of Auditors of the Imprest it appears, that a temporary banqueting-house was erected at Whitehall, for the reception of the Duke and his train, which cost 224*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.*; but it is impossible to separate from the general account of the Revels all the items which relate to the ceremonies at this date. The total amount there stated, is 1427*l.* 12*s.* 6½*d.*; but it includes certain preparations for plays at Christmas and Shrovetide, performed by a company of boys under Richard Mulcaster, then Master of Merchant Tailors' School; by the children of Windsor; by Dutton's company, by Lord Leicester's men, and by Elderton's players. One of the pieces acted was upon the story of *Theagines and Chariclea,* and another was called 'the play of Fortune.' The Mask of Janus is mentioned, and in another Apollo and the

* In the Chapter-house, Westminster; among the Privy Seals of the reign of Elizabeth.

† Lansdown MS. No. 9.

Nine Muses sat upon an artificial mount drawn in a chariot fourteen feet long, and eight feet wide. Discord, in a collar and shackles, seems to have been prominent in that part of the entertainments which was intended to be complimentary to the French Ambassadors.

It is a fact, not noticed by Malone nor Chalmers, that the preceding was the last occasion on which Sir Thomas Benger acted as Master of the Revels. At his death, in March, 1577, he was greatly in debt, and possibly his embarrassments might interfere with the discharge of his official duties *. His secession is established by several documents. He received from the Master of the Great Wardrobe the cloth of gold, silks, velvets, &c., spoken of in the preceding paragraph, in his capacity of Master of the Revels; but when the account was sent in to the Lord Treasurer (among whose papers it is preserved †) it was indorsed in the following manner:—'Touching Sir Thom. 'Benger, K. *late* M^r. of the Masks, Revells, & 'Tryumphs, of certen stuffe receaved owte of the 'greate Wardrobe.' In the 'booke of all the charges 'growen within thoffice of her Majesties Revells from

* Mr. Chalmers found his will proved in the Prerogative Office on the 27th March, 1577, by Thomas Fugal, his Chaplain and Executor. The testator states, that he left 'many debts with very few goods to pay them.' (Apology, p. 482.) Sir T. Benger had also a grant of fines on alienations, but he complained that it did not add much either to his consequence or his wealth.

† Lansdown MS. No. 9.

'the last of October, 1573, until the 1st March, '1573 [4],' it is stated, that during that period A. D.
of four months 'Thomas Blagrave, Esquier, 1573.
'servid therein as Master, according to her Majestys 'pleasure to him signifyed by the Right honourable 'Lord Chamberlaine' the Earl of Sussex. He had no regular appointment as Master of the Revels until after the death of Sir Thomas Benger, and we may therefore conclude, that although Sir Thomas Benger ceased to act, he retained his situation, Blagrave, by the Queen's order, discharging the duties as deputy.

The cost of the Revels at Christmas, New-year-tide, Twelfth-tide and Shrovetide, all falling within the four months from the end of October, 1573, to the beginning of March, 1573-4, was 672*l.* 14*s.* A. D.
2*d.*: it included the expenses of preparations, 1573-4.
&c., for plays and masks (each mask having its torch-bearers), a list of which, as performed at Christmas, New-year-tide and Twelfth-tide, is given as follows, in the account in the Office of the Auditors of the Imprest *.

'*Pedor & Lucia*, played by therle of Leicesters 'Servaunts upon St. Steevens daye at nighte at 'Whitehall.

'*Alkmeon*, played by the Children of Powles on 'St. Johns daye at nighte there.

'*Mamillia*, playde by therle of Leicesters Servaunts 'on Innocents daye at nighte there.

* Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 375.

'*Truth, Faythfulnesse & Mercye*, playde by the 'Children of Westminster for Elderton, upon New-'yeares daye at night there.

'*Herpetulus, the blew Knighte, and Perobia*, playde 'by my lord Klintons servants the 3d of January, 'beinge the Sundaye after New-yeares daye there.

'*Quintus Fabius*, playde by the Children of Wynd-'sor for Mr. Farrant on Twelfe daye at nighte, like-'wise at Whitehall.'

The three Masks at Whitehall were the following:—

'Lance Knights vi, in blew sattyn gaskon cotes 'and sloppes.—Torche bearers vi, in black and yelo 'taffata, &c. Showen on St Johns daye at nighte.

'Forresters, or Hunters vi, in green sattyn gaskon 'cotes and sloppes.—Torche bearers attyred in mosse '& ivye &c. Shewen on New-yeares daye at nighte.

'Sages vi, in long gownes of counterfet cloth of 'golde, &c. Torche bearers in long gownes of red 'damask. Showen on Twelfe daye at nighte.'

Among the properties, &c. for these several performances, were 'canvass to paynte for howses for the players,' monsters, great hollow trees; 'bays for the Prologgs;' 'a jebbett to hang up Diligence;' counterfeit fishes for the play of Pedor; a dragon's head; a truncheon for the Dictator; deal boards for the Senate-house; and 'pynnes styf & greate for paynted clothes.'

On Candlemas night, it appears, by the same authority, only one play was performed by Mulcaster's children at Hampton Court: it was called *Timoclia at*

the siege of Thebes; and in consequence of the 'tedi-'ousness of the play,' a mask of ladies representing the six Virtues could not be performed. Among the charges, is 7*s.* 10*d.* to 'the scrivener for writing 'in fayre text the 8 speeches dd (delivered) to her 'Majestie.'

Two plays and two masks were represented at Shrovetide: the plays were,

'*Philimon and Philecia,*' playde by the Erle of Leicesters men on Shrovemundaye at nighte.

'*Perseus and Anthomeris**,' playde by Munkester's [Mulcaster's] children on Shrovetewsdaye at nighte.

The maskes were 'Warriors VII with one shipp-'master that uttered speeche,' and 'Ladyes VII with 'one that uttered a speeche,' each having their torch-bearers as usual.

The charges on this occasion, among other articles, were for 'fethers for the new maskers;' 'carriage of 'frames and painted clothes for the players howses;' 'diets for children while learning their parts and 'gestures,' and for an Italian woman and her daughter who lent and dressed the hairs of the children.

It has been seen that the Earl of Leicester's players are frequently mentioned in the accounts of the Office of the Revels, and that they performed before the Queen

* Malone conjectured that this was an ignorant blunder of the person making out the accounts for Andromeda, and no doubt he was right. In the Book of Charges of the preceding year, the following item is contained, 'John Arnolde, Yeoman of the office, for mony by him payd to Arnolde the paynter, for the picture of Andromeda.'

three times within the four months preceding, March 1st, 1573-4. We now arrive at an important event in the history of our stage—the grant of the first royal patent conceded in this country to performers of plays. The Earl of Leicester, through his influence with the Queen, procured it, as a special privilege for his own servants, James Burbadge (no doubt the father of Richard Burbadge, who afterwards obtained such distinction in his profession), John Perkyn, John Lanham, William Johnson, and Robert Wylson. The 'licence,' as it has been erroneously termed, for these five actors, has hitherto been printed from a MS. in the unpublished collections of Rymer, in the British Museum*: I have been fortunate enough to discover the original Privy Seal in the Chapter-house, Westminster, which fixes the date of the grant at Greenwich, on the 7th, and not at Westminster on the 10th of May, 1574†, as it stands in Rymer's copy. On comparing the two, it will be found that there are other material variations, independent of the fact, that it was not a mere 'licence' which was conceded, but a patent under the Great Seal, the Privy Seal directing that such an instrument should be pre-

A. D. 1574.

* Ayscough's Cat. of MSS. Sloan, No. 4625. It was first published by Steevens in his Shakespeare, ii. 156.

† The variation in the date may arise from the circumstance, that the Privy Seal was issued on the 7th of May, and the Patent not made out until the 10th of May. It will be observed, likewise, that some of the names are spelt differently in the Privy Seal, and in the MS. in the Museum: the spelling of Burbadge supports Chalmers's conjecture, as to the etymology, and true orthography of that name.

pared. It is reprinted in a note precisely as it stands in the original document in the Chapter-house*.

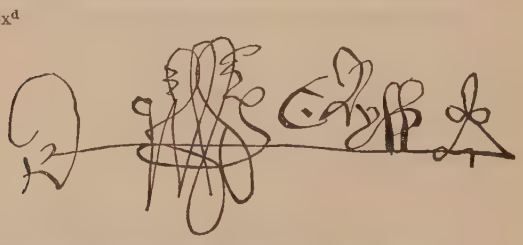
* 'BY THE QUEENE.

'Right trustie and welbeloved Counsellor we grete you well, and 'will and commaunde yow, that under or Privie Seale for the tyme 'being in yor keping, yow cause our lres to be directed to the keper of 'our greate Seale of England, willing and comaunding him, that under 'our said greate Seale he cause our lres patents to be made forth in forme 'following. Elizabeth by the grace of god Quene of England, France, 'and Ireland, defendor of the faith &c. To all Justices, Mayors, 'Sheriefs, Bayliffs, head Constables, under Constables, and all other 'our officers and ministers greeting. Knowe ye that we, of our especiall 'grace, certen knowledge and mere mocion, Have licenced and autho-'rized, & by these psents do license and aucthorize, our loving subjects 'James Burbadge, John Perkyn, John Lanham, William Johnson 'and Robert Wylson, servaunts to or trustie and welbeloved cosyn and 'Counsellor, the Earle of Leicestre, To use, exercise and occupie the 'art and faculty of playeing Comedies, Tragedies, Enterludes, Stage 'playes, and such other like as they have alredy used and studied, or 'hereafter shall use and studye, as well for the recreacion of our loving 'subjects, as for our solace and pleasure, when we shall thinke good to 'se them. As also to use and occupye all such Instromts as they have 'alredy practised, or hereafter shall practise, for & during our plesr: 'And the said Comedies, Tragedies, Enterludes and Stage playes, 'together wth there musick, to shewe, publisshe, exercise and occupy to 'their best comoditie during all the terme afforesaid, aswell wthin our 'Cyty of London and Libties of the same, as also wthin the liberties '& fredoms of any our Cytyes, townes, Boroughes &c. whatsoever, as 'wthout the same, throughout our Realme of England: willing and 'commaunding yow and every of yow, as ye tender our pleasure, to 'pmit and suffer them herin wthout any yor letts, hinderance, or mo-'lestacion during the terme affores aid, any act, statute, pclamacion, or 'comaundmt hertofore made, or herafter to be made, to the contrary not-'wthstanding. Provided that the saide Comedies, Tragadies, Enterludes 'and Stage-playes be by the Mr of our Revills (for the tyme being) 'before seen and allowed, and that the same be not publisshed, or

This instrument empowered the persons named in it, during the Queen's pleasure, to use, exercise and occupy the art and faculty of playing comedies, tragedies, interludes, and stage plays, as well for the recreation of the Queen's subjects, as for her own solace and pleasure 'within the City of London' and its liberties, and within any cities, towns, and boroughs throughout England. It will be remarked that the privilege thus given to the Earl of Leicester's players to perform within the city of London and its liberties is an omission in the copy of the 'licence,' as it exists among Rymer's unpublished papers*, and its importance will be evident from what followed this event.

'shewen in the tyme of commen prayer, or in the tyme of great and 'commen plague in our said Cyty of London. In witnes whereof, &c. 'And these our lres shalbe yo^r sufficient warr^t and discharge in this 'behalf. Geven under our signet, at or manno^r of Greenewich, the 'vij^th daye of maye, the sixtenth yere of our reigne, 1574.

Ex^d



It is indorsed 'Players,' and addressed at the back,

'To or right trustie and welbeloved Counsello^r, S^r Thomas Smyth, knight, Keper of o^r Privie Seale for the tyme being.'

* It is quite evident that it was an error by Rymer's scribe, as the words he gives at the close 'in our *said* city of London' have no reference to any thing preceding.

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ANNALS OF THE STAGE,

FROM THE YEAR 1575 TO THE YEAR 1585.

THE right conceded to the players of the Earl of Leicester was strenuously opposed by the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London: whether prior to the 22nd of July, 1574, the company had made any attempt to perform within the City, and were not allowed to do so by the magistracy, does not appear; but, on that day, a passport was granted by the Privy Council, 'to the players to go to London, and to be well used on their voyage,' and a letter was then also written to the Lord Mayor, requiring him 'to admit 'the comedy players within the city of London, and 'to be otherwise favourably used*.' It is probable, that temporary obedience was paid to this mandate; but, in the next year, 1575, the Common Council adopted some orders for the regulation of plays, which, if carried into execution, would have had the effect of entirely preventing their exhibition within the city.

This 'Act of Common Council,' as it is termed, refers, in what may be considered its preamble, to the 'disorders and inconveniences' resulting from the

* Both these facts are stated in the registers of the Privy Council for the month of July, 1574.

performance of plays, interludes, and shews; and then it enacts, under pain of fine and imprisonment, that no play shall be performed in the city which has not first been 'perused and allowed' by persons to be appointed by the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen; that the licence of the Lord Mayor shall be necessary before every public exhibition; and that half the money taken shall be applied to charitable purposes. This singular document has been printed by Strype in his edition of *Stow's Survey* (i. 292), but the errors there are extremely numerous, and as it throws much new light on the state of the drama at the period of which we are now speaking, I shall insert it in a note from the original MS. in the British Museum*.

* Lansdown MSS., No. 20.

'Orders of the Common Council, made Dec. 6, 17th Eliz. James 'Hawes, Mayor, and William Fleetwood, Recorder.

'Wheareas heartofore sondyré greate disorders and inconvenyences 'have benne found to ensewe to this Cittie by the inordynate haunt-'ynge of greate multitudes of people, speciallye youthe, to playes, 'enterludes and shewes; namelye occasyon of frayes and quarrelles, 'eavell practizes of incontinencye in greate Innes, havinge chambers 'and secrete places adjoyninge to their open stagies and gallyries, 'inveyglynge and allewrynge of maides, speciallye orphanes, and 'good cityzens children under age, to previe and unmete contractes, 'the publishinge of unchaste, uncomelye, and unshamefaste speeches 'and doynges, withdrawinge of the Quenes Majesties subjectes from 'dyvyne service on Soundaies & holydáies, at which tymes such playes 'weare chefelye used, unthriftye waste of the moneye of the poore & 'fond persons, sondrye robberies by pyckinge and cuttinge of purses, 'utteringe of popular, busye and sedycious matters, and manie other

We have no positive evidence as to the result of this contest between the Court and City, but it is to

'corruptions of youthe, and other enormyties; besydes that allso soun-
'drye slaughters and mayeminges of the Quenes Subjectes have hap-
'pened by ruines of Skaffoldes, fframes and Stagies, and by engynes,
'weapons and powder used in plaies. And whear in tyme of Goddes
'visitacion by the plaigue suche assemblies of the people in thronge
'and presse have beene verye daungerous for spreadinge of Infection,
'and for the same, and other greate cawses, by the authoritie of the
'honorable ld. maiors of this Cyttie and thaldermen their brethern,
'and speciallye vppon the severe and earneste admonition of the ls. of
'the moste honorable Councell, w^th^ signifyenge of her Ma^ties^ expresse
'pleasure and comaundemente in that behalfe, suche vse of playes,
'Interludes and shewes hathe beene duringe this tyme of syckenes
'forbydden and restrayned. And for that the lorde Maior and his
'bretheren thaldermen, together w^th^ the grave and discrete Citizens in
'the Comen Councell assemblyd, doo doughte and feare leaste vppon
'Goddes mercyfull w^th^drawinge his hand of syckenes from vs (wch
'God graunte) the people, speciallye the meaner and moste vnrewlye
'sorte, should w^th^ sodayne forgettinge of his visytacion, w^th^owte feare
'of goddes wrathe, and w^th^owte deowe respecte of the good and politique
'meanes, that he hathe ordeyned for the preservacon of comen weales
'and peoples in healthe and good order, retourne to the vndewe vse of
'suche enormyties, to the greate offence of God, the Qeenes ma^ties^ co-
'maundemets and good governaūce. Nowe therefore to the intent that
'suche perilles maie be avoyded, and the lawfull, honest, and comelye
'vse of plaies, pastymes, and recreacons in good sorte onelye pmitted,
'and good pvision hadd for the saifdie and well orderynge of the people
'thear assemblydd: Be yt enacted by the Authoritie of this Comen
'Counsell, that from henceforthe no playe, comodye, tragidie enter-
'lude, nor publycke shewe shalbe openlye played or shewed w^th^in the
'liberties of the Cittie, whearin shalbe vttered anie wourdes, examples,
'or doynges of anie vnchastitie, sedicion, nor suche lyke vnfytt, and
'vncomelye matter, vppon paine of imprisonment by the space of
'xiiij^ten^ daies of all psons offendinge in anie suche open playinge, or

be doubted, whether players at any period obtained a positive, and an unresisted settlement within the

'shewinges, and vli. for evrie suche offence. And that no Inkeper Ta-
'vernkeper, nor other pson whatsoevr wthin the liberties of thys Cittie
'shall openlye shewe, or playe, nor cawse or suffer to be openlye shewed
'or played wthin the hous yarde or anie other place wthin the liberties of
'this Cyttie, anie playe enterlude comodye, tragidie, matter, or shewe
'wch shall not be firste perused, and allowed in suche order and fourme,
'and by suche psons as by the Lorde Maior and courte of Aldermen
'for the tyme being shalbe appoynted, nor shalle suffer to be enterlaced,
'added, mynglydd, or vttered in anie suche playe, enterlude, comodye,
'tragidie or shewe, anie other matter then suche as shalbe firste perused
'and allowed, as ys abovesaid. And that no pson shall suffer anie
'plays, enterludes, comodyes, tragidies or shewes to be played or
'shewed in his hous, yarde, or other place, whereof he then shall have
'rule or power, but onelye suche psons, and in suche places, as apon
'good and reasonable consideracions shewed, shalbe thearvnto permitted
'and allowed by the lord maior and Aldermen for the tyme being:
'neither shall take or vse anie benifitt, or advantage of suche
'permission or allowaunces, before or vntill suche pson be bound
'to the Chamberlaine of London for the tyme beinge wth suche
'suerties, and in suche Sume, and suche fourme for the keepinge
'of good order, and avoydinge of the discordes and inconvenyences
'abovesaid, as by the Lorde Maior and Courte of Aldermen for the
'tyme beinge shall seeme convenyent; neither shall vse or execute anie
'suche lycence, or permission at or in anie tymes in wch the same for
'anie reasonable consideracon of sycknes or otherwise, shalbe by the
'lorde Maior and aldermen, by publique pclamacion or by pcept to
'suche psons, restrayned or comaunded to staye and cease; nor in anie
'vsuall tyme of Dyvyne Service in the soundaie or hollydaie, nor
'receyve anie to that purpose in tyme of Service to se the same, apon
'payne to forfecte for evrie offence vli. And be yt enacted, that evrie
'pson so to be lycensed or pmitted shall during the tyme of suche con-
'tynuaunce of suche lycens or pmission, paye or cawse to be paid, to the
'vse of the poore in hospitalles of the Cyttie, or of the poore of the
'Cyttie visyted wth sycknes, by the dyscretion of the said lorde Maior

bounds of the authority of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; and shortly after Dec., 1575, we meet with

' and Aldermen, suche somes and paymentes, and in suche forme as
' betwen the lord Maior and Aldermen for the tyme beinge, on th'onne
' partie, and suche pson so to be lycensed or pmitted, on thother partie,
' shalbe agreed, apon payne that in waunte of everie suche paymente,
' or if suche pson shall not firste be bound with good suerties to the
' Chamberlayne of London for the tyme beinge for the trewe payment
' of such Somes to the poore, that then everye suche lycence or pmission
' shalbe vtterlye voide, and everie doinge by force or cullor of suche
' lycence or pmission, shalbe adjudged an offence againste this acte in
' suche manner as if no suche lycence or pmission hadd benne hadd,
' nor made, aine suche lycence or pmission to the contrarye notwth-
' standinge. And be yt lykewise enacted, that all somes and forfey-
' tures to be incurrydd for anie offence against this Acte, and all for-
' feytures of bondes to be taken by force, meane, or occasyon of this
' Acte, shalbe ymployed to the reliefe of the poore in the hospitalles of
' this Cittie, or the poore infected or diseased in this Cittie of London,
' as the Lorde Maior and Courte of Aldermen for the tyme beinge
' shall adjudge meete to be distributed: and that the Chamberlayne of
' London shall have and recover the same to the purpozies aforesaid
' by Bill, Plainte, Acion of debt, or ynformacon to be comenced and
' pursewed in his owne name in the Courte of the vtter Chamber of the
' Guildhall of London, called the Maiors Courte, in wch sute no essoine
' nor wager of law for the Defendaunte shalbe admittyd or allowed.
' Provydid allwaie that this Acte (otherwise then touchinge the pub-
' lishing of unchaste, sedycious, and vnmete matters) shall not extend
' to anie plaies Enterludes Comodies, Tragidies or shewes to be played
' or shewed in the pryvate hous, dwellinge, or lodginge of anie noble-
' man, citizen, or gentleman, wch shall or will then have the same thear
' so played or shewed in his presence, for the festyvitie of anie marriage,
' assemblye of ffrendes, or otherlyke cawse, wthowte publique or comen
' collection of money of the auditorie, or behoulders theareof; referringe
' alwaie to the Lorde Maior and Aldermen for the tyme beinge the
' Judgement, and construction accordinge to equitie, what shalbe counted

a set of printed 'Orders appointed to be executed in 'the Cittie of London,' one of which refers directly to the matter at issue, and looks as if the perseverance of the authorities there, in their hostility to plays and players, had, for a time at least, been successful. One of them is in the following terms :—

'For as much as the playing of enterludes, and the 'resort to the same, are very daungerous for the infec- 'tion of the plague, wherby infinite burdens and losses 'to the Citty may increase, and are very hurtfull in 'corruption of youth with incontinence and lewdnes, 'and also great wasting both of the time and thrift 'of many poore people, and great provoking of the 'wrath of God, the ground of all plagues, great with- 'drawing of the people from publique prayer, and 'from the service of God, and daily cried out against 'by the preachers of the word of God; therefore it is 'ordered, that all such enterludes in publique places, 'and the resort to the same, shall wholy be prohibited 'as ungodly, and humble sute made to the Lords, that 'lyke prohibition be in places neere unto the Cittie *.'

This order is in the very spirit of the 'Act of Common Council,' and almost follows it in some of its terms: it treats the matter, as if the Lords of the Privy

'such a playenge or shewing in a pryvate place, anie thinge in this 'Acte to the contrarie notw^th^standing.'

* From 'Orders appointed to be executed in the Cittie of London 'for setting roges and idle persons to worke, and for the releefe of the 'poore.'—'At London, printed by Hugh Singleton, dwelling in Smith 'fielde at the signe of the Golden Tunne.' n. d.

Council had no power to interfere with the regulations of the city, and as if the Lord Mayor and Aldermen had a right to call upon their Lordships to second their views by abolishing plays in the suburbs.

The same volume of MSS. which contains the 'Act of Common Council' of 1575* also contains a petition from the Queen's Players to the Privy Council, indorsed with the date of the same year: it was, doubtless, presented in that year, and has immediate reference to the refusal of the Lord Mayor to allow them to perform within the city. It appears on the same authority, that the Justices of Middlesex had also interposed with a similar view, as respected places within their jurisdiction. The petition, which I subjoin, and an extract only from which is given by Strype, makes mention of certain 'articles' which accompanied it, which are now lost:—

'To the Right Honorable the Lordes of her
'Mat^ies Privie Counsell.'

'In most humble manner beseche yo^r Lls yo^r dutifull
'and daylie Orators the Queenes Ma^ties poore Players.
'Whereas the tyme of our service draweth verie neere,
'so that of necessitie wee must needes have exercise to
'enable us the better for the same, and also for our
'better helpe and relief in our poore lyvinge, the ceason
'of the yere beynge past to playe att anye of the
'houses w^thout the Cittye of London† as in our articles

* Lansdown MSS. No. 20.

† Hence we may decide that this petition, which is without date, was sent to the Privy Council on the approach of winter, the Queen's

'annexed to this our Supplicacion maye more att large 'appeere unto yo^r Lls. Our most humble peticion ys, 'thatt yt maye please yo^r Lls. to vouchsaffe the read-'inge of these few Articles, and in tender considera-'cion of the matters therein mentioned, contayninge the 'verie staye and good state of our lyvinge, to graunt 'vnto us the confirmacion of the same, or of as many, 'or as much of them as shalbe to yo^r honors good 'lykinge. And therw^thall yo^r Lls. favorable letters 'unto the L. Mayor of London to pmitt us to exercise 'w^thin the Cittye, accordinge to the Articles; and also 'thatt the said lr̃es maye containe some order to the 'Justices of Midd̃x, as in the same ys mentioned, 'wherbie as wee shall cease the continewall troublinge 'of yo^r Lls. for yo^r often lr̃es in the pm̃isses, so shall wee 'daylie be bownden to praye for the prosperous pre-'servation of yo^r Lls. in honor, helth, and happines 'long to continew.

'Yo^r Ll^s most humblie bownden
'and daylie Orators,
'her Ma^ties poor Players.*

It is to be concluded, that the Privy Council, out of

players having contented themselves, during the summer and autumn, with performing in the neighbourhood of London.

* It is not easy to determine who were meant in 1575 by 'her Majesties poore Players:' perhaps the Earl of Leicester's servants might so call themselves after the grant of the patent in May, 1574. There was no company known as 'the Queen's Players' until some years afterwards. It is possible, that the persons who signed this petition were the Queen's 'Players of Interludes,' a company, as we have seen, retained at court from the reign of Henry VII., and augmented by his successor from four to eight performers.

respect, perhaps, to the city authorities, sent them a copy of this petition, and of its accompanying articles; and to the former is subjoined in the Lansdown MS., a paper in which each point advanced is treated and answered *seriatim:* it is only a matter of inference, founded upon internal evidence, that this reply emanated from the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; and if so, it is not unlikely that it was drawn up by Recorder Fleetwood: it very well merits insertion, and it has not been before printed.

'Now touching their Petition and Articles.

'Where they pretend, that they must have exercise 'to enable them in their service before her 'Majestie.

'It is to be noted, that it is not convenient, that they 'present before her Ma^tie such playes as have ben 'before commonly played in open stages before all the 'basest assemblies in London and Midd^x; and there-'fore sufficient for their exercise, and more comely for 'the place, that (as it is permitted by the sayd lawes 'of common counsell) they make their exercise of 'playeng only in private houses.

'Also, it lyeth within the dutiefull care for her 'Majestie's royal persone, that they be not suffred, 'from playeng in the throng of a multitude, and of 'some infected, to presse so nere to the presence of 'her Ma^tie.

'Where they pretend the matter of stay of their 'lyving.

'It hath not ben vsed, nor thought meete hereto-'fore, that players have, or should make their lyving

'on the art of playeng; but men for their lyvings 'vsing other honest and lawfull artes, or reteyned in 'honest services, have by companies learned some in- 'terludes, for some encrease to their profit by other 'mens pleasures in vacant time of recreation.

'Where, in the first article, they require the Lord 'Maior's order to continue for the times of 'playeng on hollydaies.

'They misreport the order, for all those former 'orders of toleration are expired by the last printed 'act of Common Counsell.

'Also, if the toleration were not expired, they do 'cautelously omitt the prohibition to receive any audi- 'tories before common prayer be ended. And it may 'be noted, how vncomely it is for youth to runne 'streight from prayer to playes, from Gods service to 'the devells.

'To their second article.

'If in winter the dark do cary inconvenience, and 'the short time of day after evening prayer do leave 'them no leysure, and fowleness of season do hinder 'the passage into the feldes to playes, the remedie is 'ill conceyued to bring them into London: but the 'true remedie is to leave of that vnnecessarie expense 'of time, wherunto God himself geveth so many im- 'pediments.

'To the third.

'To play in plagetime is to increase the plage by in- 'fection: to play out of plagetime is to draw the plage 'by offendinge of God vpon occasion of such playes.

'But touching the permission of playes vpon the

'fewnesse of those that dye in any weke, it may please 'you to remember one special thing. In the report 'of the plage we report only those that dye, and we 'make no report of those that recover, and cary infec- 'tion about them, either in their sores running, or in 'their garments, which sort are the most dangerous. 'Now, my lord, when the number of those that dye 'groweth fewest, the number of those that goe abrode 'with sores is greatest, the violence of the disease to 'kill being abated. And therfore while any plage is, 'though the number reported of them that dye be 'small, the number infectious is so great, that playes 'are not to be permitted.

'Also, in our report none are noted as dyeng of the 'plage except they have tokens; but many dye of the 'plage that have no tokens, and sometime fraude of 'the searchers may deceive. Therefore it is not reason 'to reduce their toleration to any number reported to 'dye of the plage; but it is an vncharitable demaund 'against the safetie of the Quenes subiects, and per con- 'sequens of her person, for the gaine of a few, whoe if 'they were not her Ma^ties servaunts should by their 'profession be rogues, to esteme fefty a weke so small 'a number as to be cause of tolerating the adventure 'of infection.

'If your Lordships shal think resonable to permit 'them in respect of the fewnesse of such as dye, this 'were a better way. The ordinarie deaths in London 'when there is no plage, is betwene xl. and l. and 'commonly under xl., as our bokes do shew: the

'residue, or more in plage time, is to be thought to be 'the plage: now, it may be enough if it be permitted, 'that when the whole death of all diseases in London 'shal, by ii or iij wekes together be under l. a weke, 'they may play (*observatis alioqui observandis*) during 'such time of death vnder l. a weke.

'Where they require, that only her Ma^tie^s servants 'be permitted to play.

'It is lesse evell than to graunt moe. But herin, 'if your Lordships will so allow them, it may please 'yow to know, that the last yere when such toleration 'was of the Quenes players only, all the places of 'playeng were filled with men calling themselves the 'Queenes players. Your Lordships may do well, in 'your lettres or warrants for their toleration, to expresse 'the number of the Quenes players, and particularly 'all their names.'

These observations upon the articles of the Players were succeeded, perhaps in the next year, by the proposal of certain 'Remedies,' founded upon the observations, and upon the 'Act of Common Council.' Strype, in his edition of *Stow's Survey*, inserts them, as if they had been the regulations established by the Privy Council, in consequence of the remonstrances of the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London; but this is a mistake: they were proposed by the Lord Mayor and Corporation to the Privy Council, and probably without success. *

A.D. 1576.

* The remedies were certainly not sanctioned by the Privy Council, although they might for some time acquiesce in the wishes of the Cor-

'The Remedies.

'That they hold them content with playeng in 'private houses at weddings, &c. without publike 'assemblies.

'If more be thought good to be tolerated, that 'then they be restrained to the orders in the act of 'common Counsel, *tempore* Hawes.

'That they play not openly till the whole death in 'London haue ben by xx daies vnder 50 a weke, nor 'longer than it shal so continue.

'That no playes be on the sabbat.

'That no playeng be on holydaies, but after even-'ing prayer, nor any received into the auditorie till 'after evening prayer.

'That no playeng be in the dark, nor continue any 'such time but as any of the auditorie may returne 'to their dwellings in London before sonne set, or 'at least before it be dark.

'That the Quenes players only be tolerated, and of

poration so strongly expressed. What occurred in the interval we are without the means of knowing, but on the 24th Dec. 1578, we find (by the Council Register, as quoted by Chalmers, *Apology*, p. 373) their Lordships, in a letter to the Lord Mayor, requiring him 'to suffer the 'Children of her Majesty's Chapel, the servants of the Lord Cham-'berlain, of the Earl of Warwick, of the Earl of Leicester, of the Earl 'of Essex, and the Children of Pauls, & no company else, to exercise 'plays within the city;' and it is added that those companies are so to be allowed, 'by reason that they are appointed to play this Christmas before her Majesty.' No mention is made of the Queen's players, which may confirm the supposition before hazarded, that the servants of Lord Leicester might be sometimes so called.

'them their number, and certaine names, to be notified in your Ll^ps lettres to the L. Maior and to the 'Justices of Middx and Surrey. And those her 'players not to divide themselves into several companies.

'That for breaking any of these orders their tole-'ration cease.'

These proceedings in the year 1575, led to an important result, not foreseen by the sagacity of the city authorities—the construction of three places set apart for dramatic representations. One of these was the Theatre in the Liberty of the Blackfriars, which Malone truly calls 'one of the most ancient English play-houses,' although he was without the means of ascertaining the date at which it was originally built, or of supplying any particulars regarding it*. A document in the State Paper Office enables me to give the period of its construction, the cause which immediately led to it, and the name of the chief person by whom it was undertaken.

The orders of the Common Council of 1575 drove the players, at least for a time, from places within the jurisdiction of the city authorities, and without delay they sought a situation beyond that jurisdiction, but at the same time as near as possible to its boundaries. For this purpose they fixed upon the Precinct of the dissolved monastery of the Blackfriars, and here James Burbadge (who, with others, obtained the licence of 1574, already inserted) bought certain rooms near

* Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 52.

the houses, at that time, occupied by the Earl of Sussex, Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Hunsdon, A. D. who succeeded him in that office: these rooms 1576. he converted into a play-house; and while he was in the act of making the alterations, a petition to the Privy Council was prepared by certain of the inhabitants, praying that Burbadge might not be allowed to proceed in his enterprise. It was signed by the dowager Lady Elizabeth Russel, by Lord Hunsdon, and by twenty-eight other inhabitants of the Liberty of Blackfriars, and it set out the particulars above given in the following form.

'To the right Honble the Lords and others of her 'Ma^ties most honble privy Councell.

'Humbly shewing and beseeching your Honours: 'the Inhabitants of the Precinct of the Blackfryers 'London. That whereas one Burbage hath lately 'bought certaine Roomes in the same Precinct, neere 'adjoining unto the dwelling houses of the right honble 'the Lord Chamberlaine, and the Lord of Hunsdon; 'which Romes the said Burbage is now altering, and 'meaneth very shortly to convert, and turn the same 'into a common Playhouse; which will grow to the 'very great annoyance and trouble, not onely to all 'the Noblemen and Gentlemen thereabout inhabiting, 'but also a general inconvenience to all the inhabitants 'of the same Precinct, both by reason of the great 'resort, and gathering together of all manner of 'vagrant and lewde persons, that under cullor of 'resorting to the Playes, will come thither and worke

'all manner of mischiefe, and also to the great pestring 'and filling up of the same Precinct, if it should please 'God to send any visitation of sicknesse, as heretofore 'hath beene; for that the same Precinct is already 'grown very populous. And besides that the same 'Playhouse is so neere the Church, that the noyse of 'the drummes & trumpetts will greatly disturbe and 'hinder both the Minister, and the Parishioners in 'tyme of divine service & sermons. In tender con-'sideration whereof, as also for there hath not at any 'tyme heretofore been used any Common Playhouse 'within the same Precinct; but that now all Players 'being banished by the Lord Maior from playing 'within the Cittie, by reason of the great inconvenience 'and ill rule that followeth them, they now thinke to 'plant themselves in the Liberties. That therefore 'it would please your Honours to take order, that the 'same roomes may be converted to some other use, and 'that no Playhouse may be used or kept there. And 'your suppliants, as most bounden, shall & will dayly 'pray for your Lordships in all honor and happiness 'long to live.'

The name of the Lord Chamberlain for the time being was not subscribed to the petition; and from this circumstance we are perhaps warranted in infer-ring, that he did not approve of its prayer, and did not object to the near vicinity of Burbadge's new playhouse to his dwelling. Certain it is, that the representation was of no avail for the purpose for which it was made, as the Blackfriars Theatre was constructed, and many

important points of stage history, and the drama, at subsequent periods are connected with it.

In this year also, I apprehend, 'the Theatre,' another place appropriated to dramatic exhibitions, was constructed in Shoreditch: the Curtain, a similar building, was also erected in the immediate vicinity of the 'Theatre,' about the same period*. They

* It is mentioned in 1577 as then open to the public. The particulars that have been collected regarding these edifices will be found in a subsequent part of this work. Malone (Shakespeare, by Boswell, iii. 53) quotes a sermon by John Stockwood, dated 1578, respecting the Theatre and Curtain; and I have before me a singular production of the same kind:—'A Sermon preached at Pawles Crosse on Sunday the ninth of December 1576,' (two years earlier than Malone's authority, and at the close of the very year in which the Blackfriars Playhouse, the Theatre, and the Curtain, had been erected,) which, though it does not specify any of them by name, speaks of the 'sumptuous theatre houses' then open for the reception and entertainment of the public. The author of the sermon only puts his initials, T. W., upon the title-page: it is in 12mo., and was printed by Francis Coldock in 1578, two years after it was delivered. The preacher is attacking with great violence the vices reigning in the city of London; and the whole passage is curious, not merely because it proves the commonness of dramatic exhibitions in 1576:—

'Assuredly we come nothing neere the Jewes in this pointe, for on 'oure Sabbothes all manner of games and playes, banketings and sur-'fettings, are very rife. If anye manne have any businesse in the 'world, Sonday is counted an idle daye; if he have none, then it is 'bestowed in other pleasure. *Trahit sua quenque voluptas*—every man 'followeth his owne fansie. And the wealthiest citizens have houses 'for the nonce: they that have none make shift with Alehouses, 'Tavernes and Innes, some rowing on the water, some roving in the 'field, some idle at home, some worse occupied: thus what you get 'evelly all the weeke is worst spente on the Sabboth day, according to 'the proverbe—il gotten ill spent. Blame not your servantes if they

were both, like the Blackfriars playhouse, beyond the limits of the authority of the city magistrates; and no doubt owed their origin to the measures taken by the Lord Mayor and Corporation against players in 1575.

'follow your example, for your prodigalitie makes them unthriftie. But 'what accompt? how answer you? is this the Lorde's daye or no? if 'it be, how intollerable, nay, how accursed and most condemnable are 'these outragious Bacchanalia, Lupanaria—I cannot tell what to call 'them—such as heathen men were ever ashamed of (I am sure) and 'therefore practised better maters, although prophane exercises: but 'ours savors so of Venus court, and Bacchus kitchin, that it may rightly 'be intituled an abhominable and filthie Citie: and without doubte 'London shall justifie her elder sister Hierusalem, if in time she turne 'not to the Lorde. I say nothing of divers other abuses, whych do 'carie away thousands, & drowne them in the pernicious vanities of 'the worlde. Looke but upon the common playes in London, and see 'the multitude that flocketh to them and followeth them: beholde the 'sumptuous Theatre houses, a continuall monument of London's prodi- 'galitie and folly. But I understande they are now furbidden bycause 'of the plague: I like the pollicye well, if it holde still, for a disease is 'but bodged, or patched up, that is not cured in the cause; and the 'cause of plagues is sinne, if you looke to it well: and the cause of 'sinne are playes: therefore the cause of plagues are playes. *Quic-* 'quid est causa causæ est causa causati. Shall I reckon up the mon- 'strous birds that brede in this nest? without doubt I am ashamed, 'and I should surely offende your chaste eares: but the olde world is 'matched, and Sodome overcome; for more horrible enormities, and 'swelling sins, are set out by those Stages then every man thinks for, 'or some would believe, if I shold paint them out in their colours * * * 'Wherefore if thou be a father, thou losest thy child; if thou be a 'maister, thou losest thy servaunt; and thou be what thou canst be, 'thou losest thy selfe that hauntest those scholes of vice, dennes of 'theeves, and Theatres of all leudnesse: and if it be not suppressed in 'time, it will make such a Tragedie, that all London may well mourne 'whyle it is London.'

These transactions are referred to, not without humour, in an old satirical epigram, which has been preserved in MS., and which it would, of course, have been perilous then to print. It was copied on the fly-leaf of a book, published a few years before the expulsion of the actors from London into the Liberties. It is entitled,

'THE FOOLES OF THE CITTIE.
'List unto my dittye
'Alas! the more the pittye,
'From Troynovaunts olde cittie
'The Aldermen and Maier
'Have drivn eche poore plaier:
'The cause I will declaer.
'They wiselye doe complaine
'Of Wilson and Jacke Lane,
'And them who doe maintaine,
'And stablishe as a rule
'Not one shall play the foole
'But they—a worthye scoole.
'Without a pipe and taber,
'They onely meane to laber
'To teche eche oxe-hed neyber.
'This is the cause & reason,
'At every tyme & season,
'That Playes are worse then treason.'

Wilson is mentioned in the licence to Lord Leicester's players; and Jack Lane may either be a different performer, or John Laneham, with his name abridged for the sake of the rhyme.

Although the Queen's government was not disposed at this period to check the performance of plays in London and its neighbourhood, it seems to have looked with a jealous eye at the intrusion of such representa-

tions into the Universities and their vicinity. On the 30th of October, 1575, the Privy Council wrote to the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge, mentioning that they had received information 'of some attempts of light 'and decayed persons, who for filthy lucre are mynded, 'and do seeke now a daies to devise, and set up in 'open places, shews of unlawfull, hurtfull, pernicious 'and unhonest games,' near to Cambridge; and therefore requiring the Vice Chancellor, and all justices of the peace, whether by commission or charter, not to suffer any such exhibitions, either in the town of Cambridge or within five miles round it. As reasons for putting a stop to them, it is urged that the youth of the University will 'thereby be entyced from their ordinary places of learning,' and that the then prevalent infection of the plague may be carried into the University, as it had been on a former occasion. It is not stated that these 'shews' and 'games' were plays; and probably had they been so, some more definite term would have been employed in the letter*.

* It is in the Lansdown Collection of MSS., No. 71. On the 20th of January, 1579, the Mayor and Aldermen of Cambridge wrote to Lord Burghley, stating that John Blenkinsops, 'Master of Defence and servant to the Right Hon. Lord Wharton,' had challenged, at six several weapons, John Goodwyn, 'likewise Master of Defence and 'servant to the Right Hon. Lord Northe, high steward of this town of 'Cambridge.' The letter proceeds to state, that Goodwyn was 'no common fencer,' but one of the Coumon Council of the town, 'of good credit, and a man of good welthe, quyet, and honest conversation.' The Corporation were afraid that the public peace might be disturbed, and therefore prayed, that the trial might take place in presence of the Queen or some of her Council, that all disorder might be avoided, which commonly followed such exercises. (Lansdown MSS., No. 29.)

In all the proceedings regarding plays and players about this date, there is every reason to believe the Earl of Leicester interested himself, and took an active part for the encouragement of theatrical amusements. In 1577, Sir Jerome Bowes seems to have had some project on foot regarding dramatic performances, the nature of which is not explained in any extant document. To accomplish what he wished, he made suit to the Queen, who referred the matter to the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Leicester, and Lord Burghley; and among the papers of the latter, in the British Museum, is a very hastily written letter from Lord Leicester on this subject, putting him in mind of the reference, but discountenancing the scheme of Sir Jerome Bowes*. A. D. 1577.

In July, 1575, the Queen had paid her celebrated visit to the Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth Castle, where she was entertained by a Mask, and a variety

* The following is a copy of the letter from the Lansdown MSS.; but I have accidentally omitted to note the particular reference.

'My good L[ord],

'I am required to put you in remembrance, for that Sir Jerom 'Bowes seemes that your L[ordship] hath partely forgotten that it was 'her Majesty's pleasure, that your L[ordship] my L[ord] Chamberleyn 'and I should conferr and consider of the sute touching playes, to be 'granted to him and certeyn others, whom with her Majesty's pleasure 'I brought to your L[ordship] and my L[ord] Chamberleyn, being 'together in the prevey Chamber at Hampton Court: and I remember 'at that time we, talking of it, myslyked of the permission that they 'sutors desierd; and this also my L[ord] Chamberleyn him self will 'well remember. Thus much I thought good at his request to remem-'ber to your L[ordship], that yt is very trew that her Majesty did referr

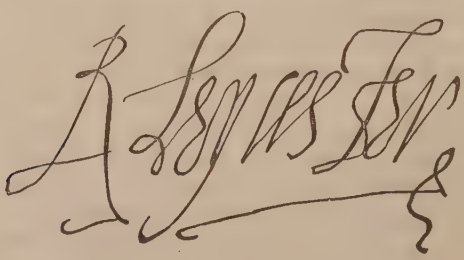
of shews, and representations emblematical and allegorical. Among other amusements, the play of Hock Tuesday, commemorating the victory over the Danes, A. D. 1002, was exhibited by Captain Cox and many others from Coventry; but it seems to have been merely a dumb shew. Two accounts of the proceedings upon this occasion are extant—one by George Gascoigne, who was the author of the Mask and various speeches; and the other by Robert Laneham, a retainer of the Earl of Leicester, and who, probably, was in some way related to the player of the same surname, who was one of that nobleman's theatrical servants in 1574.

It is necessary now to revert to the Revels, and to the progress of theatrical amusements at court, under the superintendence of Blagrave, as deputy to Sir Thomas Benger.

The total charge of the Revels, as far as that depart-

'the consideration of the sute to us, and to make report thereof accord-
'ingly. So I will take leave, and wish your L[ordship] perfect health.
'This viij of April [1577].

'Your Lo[rdships] assured friend,



ment was concerned, in the year from 28th of February, 1573-4, to 28th of February, 1574-5, was 582*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* No regular list is furnished, in the account in the office of the Auditors of the Imprest, of the plays performed in the course of this year, but the names of several are to be gathered from the different items. At Christmas the Lord Chamberlain's servants performed two pieces, called *The History of Phædrastus* and *Phigon and Lucia**, while Lord Leicester's players 'shewed their 'matter of *Panecea*,' and Lord Clinton's players 'a 'matter called *Pretestus*.' A company of 'Italian Players,' one of whom was evidently a tumbler or vaulter, attended the Queen in her progress, and performed at Windsor. We are also told of the sister of King Xerxes, in Farrant's play, Farrant being Master of the children of Windsor; of Vanity in 'Sebastians Play,' Sebastian Westcott being Master of the Children of Paul's; of 'Duttons Play,' Dutton being at the head of Lord Warwick's servants; and of 'Lord Leicester's boys,' as distinguished from Lord Leicester's men, and as if he had then a junior, as well as a senior company. The children of the chapel, under William Hunnis †, were in attendance on Newyear's-

* This is most likely the same piece that, in the account of the Revels of the preceding year, we have seen named *Pedor and Lucia*: perhaps neither was the correct title of the play.

† Hunnis was concerned in the entertainment of the Queen at Kenilworth, and was the author of interludes, which were, no doubt, acted by the boys under his government: he has hitherto been known only as the author of various poems and translations of the Psalms, but that he wrote dramatic pieces is evident from the following lines in his

day, but nothing is said of the nature of their performances.

Several masks were also exhibited—of Shepherds—of Pedlars, and of Pilgrims—for which various properties were furnished; Walter Fyshe* supplying 'woolverings for pedlars' caps,' bottles for Pilgrims, and procuring by hire a mariner's whistle. The 'scythe for Saturn' would seem also part of the furniture of a mask.

Among the other properties, we meet with the subsequent articles: 'three divells cotes and heads'—'dishes for devells eyes, heaven, hell, and the devell 'and all, I should saie, but not all†,'—'long poles

praise, prefixed to Hunnis's 'Hive Full of Honey,' 1578, by Thomas Newton.

'In pryme of youth thy pleasaunt penne depaincted sonets sweete,
'Delyghtful to the greedy eare, for youthfull humour meete:
'Therein appeerde thy pregnaunt wit, & store of fyled phrase,
'Enough t'astoune the doltish drone, & lumpish loute amaze.
'Thy *Enterludes*, thy gallaunt layes, thy rondletts & thy songes,
'Thy Nosegay & thy Widowes Myte, with that therto belonges,
'With other fancies of thy forge,' &c.

The earliest known edition of 'The poore Widowes Mite,' is dated 1585, but it was, doubtless, printed before 1578, or Newton would not have mentioned it. The 'Nosegay' was, probably, the 'Handfull of Honisuckles,' which was licensed to Thomas Dawson in 1578.

* On the 19th of January, 1574, Walter Fyshe was appointed, by Privy Seal, extant in the Chapter-house, Westminster, 'Yoman or 'keeper of our vestures, or apparell, of all and singular our Maskes, 'Revells, and Disguysings; and also of the apparell and trappers of all '& singular our horses ordeyned and appointed &c. for our Justs and 'Turnies.'

† This seems to be a touch of humour on the part of Blagrave (who, probably, superintended the preparation of the account) in ridicule of the *diablerie* in these entertainments.

'and brushes for chymney sweepers in my L. of 'Leicester's men's play,'—'a cote a hatt and buskins 'all over covered with fethers of cullers for Vanytie 'in Sebastian's play,'—'a perriwigg of heare for King 'Xerxces syster,' and the usual item of houses for players.

The account of the Revels in 1576-7 (also in the office of the Auditors of the Imprest, to which Malone had access) furnishes the following list of nine plays acted before Elizabeth.

'*The Paynter's Daughter*, showen at Hampton 'Court on S. Stevens daie at night; enacted by th'erle 'of Warwick's servants.

'*Toolie*, showen at Hampton Court on St. John's 'daie at night; enacted by the L. Howard's servants.

'*The Historie of the Collyer*, shewen at Hampton 'Court on the Sundaie following; enacted by th'erle 'of Leicester's men.

'*The Historie of Error*, showen at Hampton Court 'on Newyeres-daie at night; enacted by the children 'of Powles.

'*The Historie of Mutius Scevola*, showen at Hamp-'ton Court on Twelf daie at night; enacted by the 'Children of Wyndsor, and the Chappell.

'*The Historie of the Cenofals*, showen at Hampton 'Court on Candlemas daie at night; enacted by the 'L. Chamberleyn his men.

'*The Historie of the Solitarie Knight*, showen at 'Whitehall on Shrove Sundaie at night; enacted by 'the L. Howarde's servaunts.

'*The Irishe Knighte*, showen at Whitehall on 'Shrove Mundaie at night; enacted by the Earle of 'Warwick his servaunts.

'*The Historie of Titus and Gisippus* showen at 'Whitehall on Shrove Tuysdaie at night; enacted by 'the children of Powles.'

A tenth play, called *Cutwell*, for which a counterfeit well was carried from 'the Bell in Gracious streete', where, perhaps, the piece was originally publicly acted, is also mentioned; but it was not represented. Only one mask was performed on Twelfth night, 'with a device of 7 speeches framed correspondent to the daie.'

The properties contain nothing very remarkable beyond 'six feltes for a Cenofalles heade,' and 'a houndes heade mowlded for a Cenofall*.' We also read of 'a painted cloth and two frames,' and of 'two 'formes for the Senators in the Historie of Titus and 'Gisuppus †.'

In 1578, the Queen made a progress into Norfolk and Suffolk; and at Norwich, besides various pageants and shews, she was presented with a Mask written by Henry Goldingham: Thomas

A.D. 1578.

* Mr. Boswell has added a note, in which he observes, that 'the Cynocephali were a nation of India, having the head of a dog,' and he quotes 'Pliny, and Bulwer's Artificial Changeling, p. 17.'

† 'The most wonderful and pleasaunt History of Titus and Gisippus' had been told by Edward Lewicke as early as 1562, the author founding himself upon the narrative of Sir Thomas Eliot, in his 'Governor,' 1534. The play acted by the Children of Paul's was, perhaps, constructed of these materials. See the 'Poetical Decameron,' ii., 82, &c.

Churchyard also contributed to the entertainments by 'sundry devices,' in which, however, there was nothing dramatic. A Latin oration was delivered by Stephen Limbert, who calls himself *Ludimagister publicus*, and who was Master of the grammar school at Norwich*.

A change took place in the office of the Revels between December, 1578, and July, 1579. On the 30th of December, 1578, a Privy Seal had been granted to Thomas Blagrave, Esq., appointing him 'chief officer of the Revels.' Although I have not been able to discover it among the Privy Seals at the Chapter-house, Westminster, there is no doubt of the fact, as it is stated in 'A brief Declaration' from the office of the Revels, including the expenses of that department from 14th of February, 1578, to the 31st of October, 1579†. Sir Thomas Benger, for whom Blagrave acted from 1573 to 1577, died in March of the latter year, and the place of Master of the Revels was not filled up until Blagrave was appointed in December, 1578. The same 'brief Declaration' recites, that Edmund Tylney, Esq., had been then recently named Master of the Revels; and an account of the charges of the Revels, from Christmas, 1578, to November, 1579, mentions, that from July in the latter year, Tylney, by virtue of the Queen's letters patent, had

* Nichols's Progr. Eliz., ii., 133, &c., edit. 1823.

† It is in the British Museum; but I have mislaid the reference to the particular MS. The fact of Blagrave having been Master of the Revells was unknown to Malone and Chalmers.

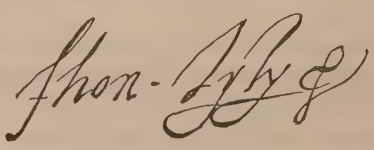
taken upon himself the Mastership of the Revels: the precise day of this appointment was the 24th of July, 1579, and it is stated in a book of patents, in the office of the Pells*. Why the vacancy was not supplied sooner after the death of Benger, no where appears. John Lyly (author of *Euphues*, and afterwards a most celebrated dramatic poet) had been a petitioner to the Queen for the reversion of the place on the demise of Benger, and his claim might possibly have some connection with the delay †.

The 'brief Declaration,' before referred to, after stating that the expenses of the Revels from the 14th of February, 1578, to the 31st of October, 1579, was 444*l.* 9*s.* 1½*d.*, makes a claim on behalf of Tylney, for an allowance for the rent of a house, the apartments occupied by former Masters of

A. D. 1578–9.

* Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, iii., 57.

† Lyly's two petitions to the Queen are set forth in MS. Harl., No. 1877, and are reprinted in the last edition of Dodsley's Old Plays, vol. ii., p. 87. Among the Lansdown MSS. (Nos. 19 and 36) are two original letters from Lyly to Lord Burghley, which have never been noticed. The one is without date, but indorsed '16th May, 1574, John Lilie, a scholar of Oxford.' It is in Latin, and it prays the Queen's letter in order that he might be admitted a fellow of Magdalen College. The other letter is also without date, and in English: it is not very intelligible; but it seems as if the writer had given some offence to Lady Burghley. It is thus subscribed,



the Revels in the precinct of St. John of Jerusalem, being then applied to the reception of some part of the apparel and furniture of the office. At the close of the account of the charges of the Revels from Christmas, 1578, to November, 1579, (in the office of the Auditors of the Imprest,) that allowance is stated at 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, which may be taken as the rent of the house for the Master of the Revels *.

This last document furnishes a list of ten plays and two masks presented at court in the period to which it relates. In this respect it corresponds with the 'brief Declaration' in the Museum; but the sum inserted, as the total expense, is smaller by nearly 100*l.*, viz. 348*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* We can only account for the difference by supposing, that the 'brief Declaration' included items of charge not embraced by the account in the office of the Auditors of the Imprest. The names of two of the ten plays, one shown at Richmond on St. John's day at night, enacted by the children of the Chapel, and the other, 'provided to have been shown at Whitehall 'on Candlemas daie at night by the Earl of Warwick's

* Lansdown MS., No. 86, art. 60, is a survey of the buildings appropriated to the Revels, by William Norton, surveyor of the works: it is without date, but seems to have been made before Sir William Cecill was raised to the peerage in February, 1571. In it, it is stated, that Henry VIII. and Edward VI. allowed Sir T. Cawarden and Sir T. Benger a sum yearly for providing them with a dwelling-house. When the Blackfriars was granted to Sir T. Cawarden, he kept the Office of the Revels there, and after his death it was removed to 'the late hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.' At the time of this survey all the premises were in good repair.

'servants,' are left blank: the titles of the other eight are these:—

'An inventyon or playe of *the Three Systers of* 'Mantua, showen at Richmond on St. Stevens daie 'at night; enacted by the Earle of Warwick his 'servants.

'An Historie of *the Creweltie of a Stepmother*, 'shewen at Richmond on Innocents daie at night; 'enacted by the Lord Chamberlaynes servants.

'A Morall of *the Mariage of Mynde and Measure*, 'shewen at Richmond on the sondai next after New-'yeares daie; enacted by the Children of Pawles.

'A Pastorall or Historie of *a Greek Maide*, shewen 'at Richmonde on the sondai next after New-yeares 'daie; enacted by the Earle of Leicester his servants.

'The Historie of *the Rape of the second Helene*, 'shewen at Richmond on Twelfdaie at night.

'The Historie of *the Knight in the burnyng rock*, 'shewen at Whitehall on Shrove Sondaie at night; 'enacted by the Earle of Warwicks servaunts.

'The History of *Loyalty and Bewtie*, shewen at 'Whitehall on Shrovemonday at nyght; enacted by 'the Children of the Quenes Majesties Chappel.

'The History of *Murderous Mychaell*, shewen at 'Whitehall on Shrove Tuesdaie at night; enacted by 'the L. Chamberlcynes servaunts.'

The two masks were a Mask of Amazons, and a Mask of Knights on Twelfth-night: in both, speeches were made, which were translated into Italian by Patrichius Ubaldinas at a cost of *3l. 2s. 2d.* A Mask

of Moors was also to have been presented on Shrove Tuesday, but for some reason it was omitted. The list of properties comprises nothing worthy particular notice.

The account for the Revels at Christmas, Twelfth-tide, Candlemas and Shrove-tide, 1579-80, A. D. includes the expense of getting up and per- 1579-80. forming nine plays, without any masks: the names of two are omitted by the person making out the account: these two were performed at Whitehall, the first on St. John's night by the Children of the Chapel, and the second on Twelfth-night by the Earl of Leicester's servants. The following names are given to the remaining seven :—

'A History of *the Duke of Millayn and the* 'Marques of Mantua, shewed at Whitehall on St. 'Stephens daie at nighte; enacted by the Lord 'Chamberlaynes servants.

'A History of *Alucius*, shewed at Whitehall on St. 'Johns daie at nighte; enacted by the Children of 'her Majesties Chappell.

'A History of *the Foure Sonnes of Fabyous*, shewed 'at Whitehall on Newe yeares daie at nighte; enacted 'by the Earle of Warwicks servants.

'The History of *Cipio Africanus*, shewen at White-'hall the sondaie night after New-yeares daie; en-'acted by the Children of Pawles.

'The History of *Portio and Demorantes*, shewen 'at Whitehall on Candlemas daie at nighte; enacted 'by the Lord Chamberleyns servants.

'The History of *the Soldan & the Duke of* ———, 'shewen at Whitehall on Shrovesondaie at nighte; 'enacted by the Earle of Derby his servants.

'The History of *Serpedon*, shewen at Whitehall on 'Shrovetuesdaie at nighte; enacted by the Lord 'Chamberleyns servants.'

A country house, a great city, a battlement, a wood, and a castle are enumerated among the properties employed. In this account it is again distinctly stated, that the plays were rehearsed before the Master of the Revels, in order that he might make choice of the best to be performed at court. The painting of seven cities, and a village, is mentioned among the work done.

Seven plays were exhibited in the next year, 1580-1, but the names of only two are preserved; viz.:—

'A Comodie called *Delighte*, shewed at Whitehall on St. Stephens daie at night.' It was performed by 'the Earl of Leicester's men.'

'A Storie of *Pompey*, enacted in the Hall on Twelf nighte' by 'the Children of Pawles.'

Of the other five, two were played by the Earl of Sussex's servants; one by the Earl of Leicester's servants; one by the Earl of Derby's servants, and one by the Children of the Chapel.

The properties, with the addition of a 'senate-house,' were nearly the same as in the preceding year. Two 'challenges' are also registered, as well 'as certain masks for the receiving of the French Commissioners.' According to Stow, jousting took

place on the 16th of January, and on Whit-Monday and Tuesday. A banqueting-house constructed for the entertainment of 'the Dolphin of Avergne,' the Marshal of France, &c., who arrived in England on the 16th of April, cost 1744*l.* 19*s.** The principal Challengers on Whit-Monday and Tuesday were the Earl of Arundel, Frederick Lord Windsor, Sir Philip Sidney, and Fulke Greville.

'A briefe note of the provisions emptions and wages for her Majesties Revells this yeare, 1581,' among the Lansdown MSS.†, and subscribed by A.D. 1581.

as Master, Edward Buggin, as Yeoman, and Edward Kirkham, as Clerk of the Revels, makes the expense for the whole year amount to 577*l.* 10*s.* The items of this account are inserted below‡.

* Stow's Chronicle, 1615, p. 1166 and 1167. † No. 31.

‡

	£.	s.	d.
'John Bose, for a mount with a Castle uppon it, a 'dragon, artificial tree, &c. . . .	100	0	0
'Unto diverse persons for 46 Sheildes, the tymber worke, 'Iron worke, and leathering of them, with the painting 'and gilding of the Impresses at xvs. a peece .	34	10	0
'Serjeant painters bill for painting mowlding and gilding	38	0	0

Before I quit the year 1581, it is necessary to notice another document in the Lansdown Collection, which makes mention of an 'interlude player' attached to the Queen's domestic establishment, called John Smith: he is entered in an account furnished to Lord Burghley by Sir Thomas Henneage, Treasurer of the Queen's Chamber, of his disbursements in the twenty-second year of the reign of Elizabeth. Smith's wages are stated to be as usual, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, with an allowance of 1*l.* 4*s.* 'for his livery.' He was one of the old 'players of interludes' belonging to the royal house-

	£.	s.	d.
'Willm. Boles bill for cop. frindge, lace, tassells, buttons 'and such like	36	3	0
'Twoe mercers billes for cloth of golde, counterfeit cloth 'of silver, tincells, taffeta, taffeta sarcenets, and single 'sarcenets	105	3	0
'The Carpenters bill, &c.	5	14	10
'The Buskenmaker, &c.	5	12	0
'The Fethermaker	9	0	0
'The wierdrawer for braunches, plats, and other garnish- 'ings for the Hall	26	0	0
'John Digges bills for threed silke, &c. and artificiall 'lyon & horse	26	11	0
'John Sherbornes billes for carrell, baies, candle, fuell, 'heares, beards, &c. carriage of stuffe, botehier	19	10	8
'The yeoman's bill for gold tincell, &c.	3	9	5
'The clerke comptrollers bill for silke floures, &c. coun- 'terfeite perle, &c.	14	4	1
'Laid out by the M[r] of the Revells for canvas visards, 'fewell, rewards, & other his ordinary allowances	22	4	0
'Wages of artificers & attendants	87	0	0
'Officers wages	49	0	0

'with the airings for this yeare.'

hold in the reign of Edward VI., and his name is inserted in the same account with the expenses of trumpeters and musicians*. In the four-and-thirty years which elapsed between the settlement of the royal household by the Duke of Somerset in 1547, and the date to which we are now adverting, it is most probable that Smith's fellows, Cock, Birch and Heryet, had died, as their names are not given in the Lansdown MS. which mentions Smith.

The accounts preserved in the office of the Auditors of the Imprest show, that the charge of the Revels in the year 1582, for the amusements at Christ- A. D. mas, Twelfth-tide, and Shrove-tide, was 288*l.* 1582. 9*s.* 8½*d.* The plays presented were six in number, viz. :—

'A Comodie, or Morall, devised on *a Game of the* '*Cards*, shewed on St. Stephens daie at night before 'her Majestie at Wyndesor; enacted by the Children 'of her Majesties Chapple.

'A Comodie of *Bewtie & Huswyfery*, showed be- 'fore her Majestie at Wyndesor on St. John's daie 'at night; enacted by the Lord of Hundesdons 'servaunts.

* The cost of these at this date, as appears upon the statement of Sir T. Henneage, was as follows :—

	£.	s.	d.
'To Trumpeters & Violins . . .	346	7	6
'To Flutes, including Nich Lanere & P. Guy	236	0	4
'Sackbutts	101	10	6
'Musicians	64	9	0
	748	7	4'

'A Historie of *Love & Fortune**, shewed before her 'Majestie at Wyndesor on the sondaie at night next 'before newe yeares daie; enacted by the Earle of 'Derbies servaunts.

'A Historie of *Ferrar*†, shewed before her Ma-'jestie at Wyndesor on Twelf daie at night; enacted 'by the Lord Chamberleynes servaunts.

'A Historie of *Telomo*, shewed before her Majestie 'at Richmond on Shrove sondaie at night; enacted by 'the Earle of Leicesters servaunts.

'A Historie of *Ariodante and Geneuora*‡, shewed

* Perhaps 'The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune,' printed in 1589. A copy, believed to be unique, is in the possession of the Marquis of Stafford. By the kindness of Lord F. L. Gower I obtained the use of it, and it is examined in the Hist. of Dram. Poet.

† Probably the same piece as 'The History of Error,' mentioned under date of 1576-7. Mr. Boswell (Shakespeare, iii. p. 406.) not very happily conjectured that this was a play written by the celebrated George Ferrers. It is no doubt a mere mistake in the title by the clerk who made out the account, and who wrote by his ear, and not by his copy.

‡ The episode of Ariodante and Geneura had been translated into English, from the Italian of Ariosto, by Peter Beverley, shortly before this play was acted: perhaps the author of the drama derived his plot from Beverley's version, which was printed in small octavo, under the following title, 'The history of Ariodanto and Jeneura, daughter to 'the King of Scottes, in English verse. Printed by Thomas East, for 'Frauncis Coldocke.' It has no date, but the same author wrote commendatory verses to Geoffrey Fenton's 'Tragical Discourses,' published in 1579. The only copy of this singular poem I ever saw was among the books in the Gordonstoun Library, and it was bought by Mr. Phelps for 31*l.* 10*s.* It was the same copy claimed by an individual at the Roxburghe sale, and given up to him, as his property, which the Duke had borrowed.

'before her Majestie on Shrovetuesdaie at night; 'enacted by Mr. Mulcasters children.'

'Sundry feats of tumbling' were also exhibited before the Queen on New-year's night, by the servants of Lord Strange, and the shews of the year included also a mask of ladies. Another mask of six seamen was to have been performed, but 'it was not used.'

The properties on these occasions included little more than a city, and a battlement, employed on former occasions, and twenty-one yards of cotton for the matachins *.

The dispute between the Privy Council, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, regarding the performance of plays within the limits of the city, had been revived on the 3rd of December, 1581, when, as appears by the Council Registers, a letter was written to the Lord Mayor in which he was 'ordered' to suffer and permit certain companies of players (who had petitioned the Privy Council for that purpose) 'to use and exercise their trade of playing in and 'about the city, as they have heretofore accustomed, 'upon the week days only, being holidays, or other 'days; so as they do forbear wholly to play on the 'Sabbath day, either in the forenoon or afternoon, 'which to do they are by their Lordships order expressly denied and forbidden †.' Whatever might,

* Misprinted *Matachius* in Malone's Shakespeare, by Boswell, iii., 407. A matachine was a species of mask, in which the performers were armed. The difference between the two may be ascertained by consulting *Douce's Illustrations of Shakespeare*, ii., 435.

† Chalmers's Apology, p. 382.

or might not, be the effect of this communication, on the 25th of April, 1582, the Lords of the Council assumed a very different tone, for in a letter to the Lord Mayor, dated on that day, they 'pray his Lord-'ship to revoke his late inhibition against their playing 'on the holidays, but that he do suffer them, as well 'within the city as without, to use their exercise of 'playing on the said holydays after evening prayer, 'only forbearing the Sabbath day, according to their 'Lordships' said order; and when he shall find that the 'continuance of the same their exercise, by the increase 'of sickness and infection, shall be dangerous, to cer-'tify their Lordships, and they will presently take 'order accordingly.' The inhibition, here spoken of, against playing on holidays, had perhaps been provoked by the letter of the Lords of 3rd of December, 1581, in which they 'ordered' the Lord Mayor to allow the players to act 'upon the week days only, being holidays.'

In a preceding part of the letter of the 25th of April, 1582, the Lords of the Privy Council adverted to the reasonableness of allowing players to perform 'for honest recreation sake,' and in order that they might 'attain to the more perfection and dexterity' when they should be called upon to act before the Queen. This, it will be remembered, was the argument used by, and for, the players in 1575. At the same time the Lords of the Privy Council admitted the propriety of looking into the comedies, 'that those 'which do contain matter that may breed corruption

'of manners and conversation among the people be for-'bidden.' It is to be collected from Lansdown MS., No. 20, that the City authorities (perhaps through their Recorder, Fleetwood, who was in constant communication with Lord Burghley) at this date had some correspondence with the Lord Treasurer on the impolicy of encouraging theatrical performances, in which the 'Act of Common Council' of 1575, *tempore* Hawes, Mayor, and the 'Orders for setting rogues and idle persons to work,' (printed by Hugh Singleton) were referred to. The same MS. also notices a catastrophe at one of the places of public amusement and resort, to which I must now advert.

Paris Garden had been employed for the purpose of baiting wild beasts at least as far back as the early part of the reign of Henry VIII. How long before 1583, an amphitheatre for that purpose had been built, it is not now, perhaps, possible to ascertain; but it seems that the wooden galleries, in which the spectators stood, were then much decayed; and on the 13th of January, 1582-3, one of them fell, from the weight of people upon it, and many were hurt, and some killed*. On the 14th of January, the day following this accident, Sir Thomas Blanke, then Lord Mayor of London, wrote to Lord Burghley, and his letter contains the following paragraph:— A. D. 1583.

'It may please your Lordship to be further adver-

* Stow (Chronicle, p. 1173, edition 1615) says that 'eight persons, 'men and women, were slaine, and many others sore hurt and bruised, 'to the shortening of their lives.'

'tised (which I thinke you have alredie hard) of a 'greate mysshappe at Parise gardenne, where, by 'ruyn of all the scaffolds at once yesterdaie, a greate 'nombre of people are some presentlie slayne, and 'some maymed, and greavouslye hurte. It giveth 'greate occasion to acknowledge the hande of god for 'suche abuse of the sabboth daie, and moveth me in 'consciens to beseche your Lordshipp to give order 'for redresse of suche contempt of god's service. I 'have to that ende treated with some Justices of peace 'of that Countie, who signifie themselfes to have very 'good zeale, but alledge want of commyssion, which 'we humblie referre to the consideration of your 'honorable wisedome *.'

Fleetwood, the Recorder, who was in the habit of transmitting to Lord Burghley, at intervals, a diary of proceedings in the city, on this occasion wrote as follows: 'Upon the same daie (Sunday, Jan. 13th, '1582-3) the violaters of the Sabothe were punished 'by God's providence at Paris Garden; and as I was 'wryting of these last words before, is a booke putt 'downe upon the same matter.' The book to which he alludes was a small tract in 12mo. by 'John Field, Minister of the Word of God †,' of which the follow-

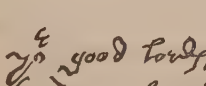
* Lansdown MSS. No. 73.

† John Field was a busy puritanical preacher, who, prior to the 25th November, 1581, seems to have been in confinement, from which he was released by the instrumentality of Lord Leicester. This obligation he acknowledges in a letter of the date above mentioned, addressed to the Earl, which is also curious, inasmuch as it refers in terms of censure to the manner in which Lord Leicester had recently interested

ing is the title, 'A godly Exhortation, by occasion of 'the late judgement of God shewed at Paris Garden, 'the thirteenth day of January; where were assem- 'bled by estimation above a thousand persons, whereof 'some were slaine, and of that number at the least, as 'is credibly reported, the third person maimed and

himself in favour of certain players. It is hardly possible that Field should refer back so far as to the year 1574, when the patent was granted to James Burbadge and others, and we may take it, therefore, that he alludes to some other interference, perhaps in behalf of the actors who wished, early in 1581, to be allowed to perform within the city. After telling Lord Leicester how much he, and the whole Church, are bound to him, 'as the instrument of his peace and libertie,' Field proceeds in the following strain.

'The more Sathan rageth, the more valianter be you under the 'standert of him who will not be foyled. And I humblie beseech your 'honor to take heede howe you gyve your hande, either in evill causes, 'or in the behalfe of evill men, *as of late you did for players to the 'great greife of all the godly;* but as you have shewed your forwardnes 'for the Ministery of the Gospel, so followe that course still. Our 'Cyttie hath bene well eased of the pester of those wickednesses, and 'abuses, that were wonte to be nourished by those impure interludes & 'playes that were in use—surely the schooles of as greate wickednesses 'as can be. I truste your honor will herein joyne with them that have 'longe, owt of the word, cryed out against them; and I am persuaded 'that if your honor knewe what sincks of synne they are, you woulde 'never looke once towards them. The lord Jesus blesse you. Nov. '25, 1581.



The words in Italic are interlined in the original MS.
(MSS. Cotton. Titus, B. vii. fol. 22.)

'hurt. Given to all estates for their instruction con-'cerning the keeping of the Sabboth day.'

The order of the Privy Council against performances on Sunday, mentioned in the letter to the Lord Mayor of 3d December, 1581, only applied to the City of London, and after the accident at Paris Garden the regulation seems to have been made general *.

About two months after this catastrophe, which, to a certain extent, had the effect of accomplishing the wishes of the enemies of dramatic representations by abolishing the public performance of plays on Sunday, the Queen, at the request of Sir F. Walsingham, and with the advice of the Master of the Revels †, selected twelve performers out of some of the companies of her

* Fleetwood, the Recorder of London, was a member of the House of Commons, and sent to Lord Burghley an account of the proceedings there from the 2d to the 29th November, 1584. He states that a bill was brought in, read a first and second time, and committed, 'for the due observation of Sundays.' In the Committee all the young members attended, and the Recorder complains, that as twenty talked at once, nothing could be done with the measure. No doubt the young members attended to defeat the bill. See Lansdown MSS. No. 41.

† The following passage, in the Account of the Revels for 1582-3, shews Tylney's concern in this affair.

'Edmond Tylney, Esquire, M^r^ of the Office, being sente for to the 'courte by letter from Mr. Secretary, dated the 10th of Marche, 1582, 'to choose out a companie of Players for her Majestie.'

To this is added, his expenses for horse hire, &c., amounting to 20*s.*

Chalmers (Apology, p. 389) says that the Queen's company was formed in 1581, but this is decidedly a mistake. Malone also errs, calling *Robert* Wilson, *Thomas*. Wilson was not only an actor, but the author of *The Cobbler's Prophesy*, a play printed in 1594.

nobility which used to act before her, as her own dramatic servants, and to be called the Queen's players. Of these, Robert Wilson, of 'a quick, delicate, refined, extemporal wit,' and Richard Tarlton, of 'a wondrous plentiful pleasant extemporal wit,' were two; and Howes (whose additions to Stow's Chronicle I am quoting) tells us, that 'they were sworn 'the Queen's servants, and were allowed wages and 'liveries, as grooms of the Chamber:' he adds, that 'until this year, 1583, the Queen had no players.'

In a certain sense, this statement may be considered true; but we have already seen that Elizabeth had 'Players of Interludes' in her pay, as part of her household, from the very commencement of her reign; and in the Book of the domestic establishment of this Queen, in the year 1585, preserved in the British Museum, they are still enumerated, each receiving the old annual stipend of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* If Howes be correct, the twelve new players, appointed in 1583, were paid and liveried as grooms of the chamber. In the Book of 1585, there is a separate item of 'Players,' distinct from 'Players of Interludes,' with the sum of 38*l.* 4*s.* opposite to them, and this was probably the amount paid to the twelve performers who were selected in 1583*. Malone, who only 'suspected'

* The following is the statement of the expense of 'Musicions and Players' in the Queen's Household Book of 1585, among the Sloanian MSS., No. 3194:—

	£.	s.	d.
Sergiante of the Trumpetors, fee . .	24	6	8
Trumpetors 16, fee to every of them . .	27	6	8

that Queen Elizabeth had players on her establishment, like Edward VI. and Mary, thought that the eight 'Players of Interludes,' mentioned in the Household Book of 1585, must be eight out of the twelve performers selected in 1583: if so, the remaining four must also have been remunerated, and Howes expressly states that all twelve 'were allowed wages and liveries.'

In the account of the charges of the Revels for the

	£.	s.	d.
Luters 3, fee	40	0	0
For six singing children, fee	18	5	0
Harpers 2, to one 20*l.*, to the other	18	5	0
Singers 2, fee to each	9	2	6
Rebecke, fee	24	6	8
Sackbutts 6, fee to one of them	36	10	0
to the rest, a-piece	30	8	4
Vials 8, fee to one	20	0	0
to another	18	5	0
the rest	30	8	4
Bagpiper, fee	12	3	4
Musicions 9, fee to one	24	6	8
another	3	6	8
the rest, per diem, a-piece	0	1	0
Drummers 3, fee to each, per diem	0	1	0
Fluters 2, fee	48	8	4
Virginalle, fee	50	0	0
Players, fee	38	4	0
—— fee	12	13	4
Musicion strangers, fee to 4	183	16	8
to another	36	10	0
the rest, a-piece	38	0	0
Players of Enterluts 8, fee to every of them	3	6	8
Organ maker, fee	20	0	0
Rigall maker, fee	10	0	0

year 1584-5, it appears, that 'Her Majesty's servants,' meaning her twelve new performers, played A. D. in her presence no less than five pieces, and 1584. would have played a sixth, 'an invention of three plays in one,' at Somerset-place, 'on Shrovesondaie,' but that 'the Quene came not abroad that night.' The pieces in which they acted were the following :—

'A Pastorall of *Phillyda and Choryn*, on St. Ste-'phens daie at night, at Grenewiche.

'The History of *Felix and Philiomena*, on the 'sondaie next after newe yeares-daie at night, at 'Grenewiche.

'An invention called *Fyve Playes in One*, on Twelfe 'daie at night, in the hall at Grenewiche.

'An antick Play, and a Comody, on Shrovetuesdaie 'at night at Somerset-place.'

The Earl of Oxford's boys, who played 'the history 'of *Agamemnon and Ulysses*, on St. John's daie at 'night, at Grenewiche,' and 'Symons and his fellows,' who went through 'dyvers feates of actyvytie,' were the only other actors who appeared before the Queen in this year. Among the properties employed, we read of 'one great cloth of canvas,' a battlement, a mountain, and a house. No masks are mentioned, and the total cost from October, 1584, to October, 1585, was only 279*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.*

I have more than once mentioned, and quoted, Recorder Fleetwood's reports sent occasionally to Lord Burghley, and preserved with his papers among the Lansdown MSS. The following curious extracts are

from one of them, referring to transactions in London relative to play-houses at Whitsuntide, 1584, and to an endeavour, on the part of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, to suppress the Theatre and Curtain, the two play-houses in Shoreditch.

'Upon Whit sondaye there was a very good 'sermond preached at the new churche yard nere 'Bethelem, wherat my Lo. Mayor was with his 'bretheren; and, by reason no playes were the same 'daie, all the citie was quiet. * * *

'That night (Monday) retorned to London, and 'found all the wardes full of watches: the cause ther-'of was, that very nere the Theatre or Curten, at the 'tyme of the playes there, laye a prentice sleping upon 'the grasse, and on [one] Challis at Brostock dyd 'turne upon the too [toe] upon the belly of the same 'prentice; wherupon the apprentice start up, and 'after words they fell to playne blowes. * * *

'Upon Weddensday one Browne, a serving man in 'a blew coat, a slashing fellowe, having a perrelous 'witt of his owne, entending a sport if he cold have 'brought it to passe, did at the Theater doore quarrell 'with certen poore boys, handicraft prenteses, and 'shooke some of them; and lastely he with his 'sword wounded and maymed one of the boyes upon 'the left hand; wherupon there assembled nere a M 'people. * * *

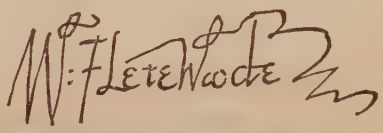
'Upon Soundaye my Lord sent two Aldermen to 'the Court, for the suppressing and pulling downe of 'the Theatre and Curten. All the Lords were ther-'unto, saving my Lord Chamberlen and Mr. Vyce,

'but we obteyned a letter to suppresse theym. Upon 'the same nyght I sent for the quenes players, and my 'Lo. of Arundel his players, and they all willinglie 'obeyed the Lords letters. The cheefest of her highnes 'players advysed me to send for the owner of the 'Theatre, who was a stubborne fellow, and to bynd 'hym. I did so: he sent me word, that he was my Lo: 'of Hunsdens man, and that he wold not come at me, 'but he wold in the monying ride to my Lord. Then 'I sent the under sheriff for hym, and he browght 'hym to me; * * * and in the end I shewed hym my 'Lo: his Masters hand, and then he was more quiet; 'but to die for it he wold not be bound. And then 'I mynding to send hym to prison, he made sute that 'he might be bounde to appere at the Oier & deter-'miner, the which is to morowe, where he said that 'he was sure the Court wold not bynd hym, being a 'Counselors man. And so I have graunted his re-'quest, where he shalbe sure to be bound, or else ys 'lyke to do worse. * * * *

'An old mucision of the Quenes had this last night '*meretricem* in his *lectulo:* one Alen a constable, 'being *homo barbatus,* toke theym. The Italian 'most violentlie tore of Alens berd, and said he might 'have a wenche in his chamber, because for that he 'was the Quenes man. Alen now is become a Mar-'ques unto my Lo. Maior, hath bound the Italian to 'aunswere at the next gaole delyverie *.'

* Anthony Wood says of Fleetwood, that he was not only a learned lawyer and antiquary, but 'of a marvellous merry and pleasant con-

Independent of the rest of this minute and curious detail, the last paragraph proves what a strict watch the Lord Mayor, and his brethren, at this time kept over the morals of the city. It is signed by the Recorder, who subscribed his name in the following form.



Fleetwood was Recorder of London as early as 1569, and it has been supposed, without sufficient ground, that he became so through the influence of the Earl of Leicester. It seems more likely that he owed this appointment to Lord Burghley, who made him one of the Queen's Serjeants in 1592.

ceit;' and some of his other letters to Lord Burghley, as well as the closing paragraph of the above communication, afford evidence of his sprightly turn of mind, even when writing to the grave Lord Treasurer. He was himself a natural son, so that he might be disposed to treat the 'Queen's old musician,' caught with *meretricem* in his *lectulo*, with the less severity. The date of his birth is uncertain, probably between 1530 and 1540: he died February 28th, 1594.

ANNALS OF THE STAGE,

FROM THE YEAR 1585 *TO THE YEAR* 1599.

In the year 1585 a licence of some kind (for the nature of it is not mentioned, nor the parties by, nor to whom it was given) had been granted for the exhibition of certain games; and it is to be gathered from a long letter by Fleetwood to Lord Burghley, that the latter had asked his opinion, as a lawyer, upon the legality of the instrument *. The Recorder's reply is dated 13th November, 1585, and in it he says, that the licence had 'a great shewe 'of lawfull and reasonable games, that at the first 'face would seem to be sufferable; but in the end of 'the resytall there is a clawse—the which, by gene-'rallitie of the words, doth geve lycence to practyse 'all manner of playes and unlawfull games,' and that, too, as he proceeds to shew, by the party obtaining the licence or by his deputy, on the Sabbath day. The kind of 'games or playes' intended is not specified, but Fleetwood gives it as his opinion that such a licence is illegal, and adds that no licence can be legally granted for a *malum naturaliter de se.* A. D. 1585.

* Lansdown MSS. No. 41.

Secretary Walsingham* had also intelligencers, or spies, in London in his pay, who dispatched news to

* After entertaining Queen Elizabeth at Barn Elms in 1589, Sir Francis Walsingham died so poor, in April, 1590, that his effects would not pay the expense of a funeral suitable to his rank. Thomas Watson's elegant tribute to his memory on the occasion, was therefore disinterested, at least as far as regards any pecuniary consideration for it. It was written originally in Latin, but the author himself translated it into English, and printed it in the same year. This translation is a production of the utmost rarity, and the only copy known is in the King's Library: it is entitled *An Eglogue upon the Death of the Right Honorable Sir Francis Walsingham, late Principall Secretarie to her Majestie*, &c., and it was printed by Robert Robinson in 1590. It is dedicated to Lady Frances Sydney, and in the course of the pastoral Watson takes occasion to advert to the services and untimely death of Sir Philip Sydney. The latter part of the poem is most interesting, particularly from the mention it makes of Spenser, calling upon him to perform a task to which he (Watson) felt himself unequal. As I have never seen it quoted, I cannot refrain from inserting this portion of the poem as it stands in the original. Watson figures Queen Elizabeth under the name of Diana, and then proceeds.

'Yet lest my homespun verse obscure hir worth,
'Sweet Spencer let me leave this task to thee,
'Whose neverstooping quill can best set forth
'such things of state, as passe my Muse and me.
'Thou, Spencer, art the alderliefest swaine,
'or haply if that word be all to base,
'Thou art Apollo, whose sweet hunnie vaine
'amongst the Muses hath a chiefest place.
'Therefore, in fulnes of thy duties love,
'calme thou the tempest of Diana's brest,
'Whilst shee for Melibæus late remove
'afflicts her mind with overlong unrest.
'Till hir forthwith (for well shee likes thy vaine)
'that though great Melibæus be awaie,
'Yet like to him there manie still remaine,
'which will uphold hir countrie from decaie.

'First

him from time to time: one of these, who states himself to be a soldier, and who does not sign his name, on the 25th January, 1586, sent him a communication, in which, with information and conjectures respecting the designs of France and Scotland, he mixes up the following interesting particulars regarding the stage; shewing the great number of actors at that time performing in the city, and that they then played every day in the week, Sunday excepted. A. D. 1586.

'The daylie abuse of Stage Playes is such an offence 'to the godly, and so great a hinderance to the gospell, 'as the papists do exceedingly rejoyce at the bleamysh 'theareof, and not without cause; for every day in the

'First name Damœtas, flowre of Arcadie,
'whose thoughts are prudent & speech vertuous,
'Whose looks have mildness joind with majestie,
'whose hand is liberal and valorous:
'He is Damœtas, who is wont to blame
'extreamest justice voide of equitie:
'Diana terms him by an other name,
'*Hatton*, unless I faile in memorie.
'Then name old Damon, whom shee knows of old,
'for such a Nestor was to Græcians guide;
'Worth ten of Ajax, worth all Crœssus gold,
'if his deserts in ballance could be tride.
'Damon is he, that counsels all aright,
'and heedfullie preserves Dianaes store;
'And wakes when others rest themselvs by night:
'we Arcads call him *Cecill* heretofore.
'Then name brave Ægon, that with ships defence,
'about our coast orespreds the Ocean plaines,
'To keepe fell monsters of the sea from hence:
'we cleape him *Howard* that are countrie swaines.
'Name Mopsus, Daphnis, Faustus and the rest,
'whose severall gifts thy singing can expresse.
'When thou shalt tell how shee in them is blest,
'their verie names will comfort her distresse.'

'weake the players billes are sett up in sondry places 'of the cittie, some in the name of her Majesties 'menne, some the Earl of Leic^r, some the E. of Oxford, 'the Lo. Admyralles, and dyvers others; so that when 'the belles tole to the Lectorer, the trumpetts sound 'to the Stages, wheareat the wicked faction of Rome 'lawgheth for joy, while the godly weepe for sorrowe. 'Woe is me! the play howses are pestered, when 'churches are naked: at the one it is not possible to 'gett a place, at the other voyde seates are plentie. 'The profaning of the Sabaoth is redressed, but as 'badde a custome entertayned, and yet still our long 'suffering God forbayreth to punishe. Yt is a wofull 'sight to see two hundred proude players jett in their 'silkes, wheare five hundred pore people sterve in the 'streets. But yf needes this mischief must be tol-'lerated, whereat (no doubt) the highest frownith, 'yet for God's sake (Sir) lett every Stage in London 'pay a weekly pention to the pore, that *ex hoc malo* '*proveniat aliquod bonum:* but it weare rather to be 'wisshed that players might be used, as Apollo did his 'lawghing, *semel in anno* * * * * Nowe, mee thinks, 'I see your honor smyle, and saye to your self, theise 'things are fitter for the pullpit, then a souldiers 'penne; but God (who searchith the hart & reynes) 'knoweth that I write not hipocritically, but from the 'veary sorrowe of my soule*.'

In 1586, Elizabeth, following the arbitrary precedent set as long ago as the reign of Richard III.,

* Harleian MSS., No. 286.

issued a warrant under her sign manual, authorising Thomas Gyles, Master of the Children of Paul's, to take up any boys in Cathedrals or Collegiate Churches in order to be instructed for the entertainment of the Court. Mr. Nichols (Progr. Eliz., ii., 432) states, that this document was issued in the 26th of Eliz.; but, had he referred to the original, a copy of which I have subjoined in a note*, he would have seen that it bears date in the 27th of Eliz.

* 'BY THE QUEENE.

'Elizabeth R.

'Whereas we have authoryzed our servaunte Thomas Gyles, 'M^r^ of the Children of the Cathedrall Churche of St. Paule, within our 'Cittie of London, to take upp suche apte and meete children, as are 'most fitt to be instructed and framed in the arte and science of 'musicke and singing, as may be had and founde out within anie 'place of this our Realme of England or Wales, to be by his education 'and bringing up made meete and hable to serve us in that behalf, 'when our pleasure is to call for them. We, therefore, by the tenor of 'these presents, will and require you, that ye permitt and suffer from 'henceforthe our saide servaunte Thomas Gyles, and his deputy or 'deputies, and every of them, to take upp in anye Cathedrall or Col-'legiate Churche or Churches, and in everye other place or places of 'this our Realme of England and Wales, such Childe or Children, as 'he or they or anye of them shall finde and like of; and the same 'Childe and Children, by vertue hereof, for the use and service afore-'saide, with them or anye of them to bringe awaye, without anye your 'letts, contradictions, staye or interruption, to the contrarye. Charginge 'and commaundinge you, and everie of you, to be aydinge helpinge and 'assistinge unto the abovenamed Thomas Gyles, and his deputie & 'deputies, in and about the due execution of the premisses, for the 'more spedie effectuall and bettar accomplisshing thereof from tyme to 'tyme, as you and everie of you doe tendar our will & pleasure, and 'will aunswere for doinge the contrarye at your perills. Yoven under

Gray's Inn was extremely busy in 1587-8 in its theatrical preparations and exhibitions. On the 16th of January in that year, a play, of which Catiline probably was the hero, and a mask, were represented in the Hall before Lord Burghley and other courtiers. The Lord Treasurer has registered the fact of his presence on the occasion, as an indorsement on a list of the characters, and of the performers of them, which he left behind him among his papers *. On the 28th

'our Signet at our Manor of Grenewich, the 26th day of Aprill, in the '27th yere of our reign.

'To all and singuler Deanes, Provostes, Maisters and Wardens of Collegies, and all ecclesiasticall persons and mynisters, and to all other our officers mynisters and subjects to whom in this case it shall apperteyne, and to everye of them greetinge.'

* Lansdown MS., No. 55. It is indorsed by Lord Burghley in the following manner:—'xvj Janv. 1587. The names of the of Grays In, that playd there a Comedy befor the Lo. Burghley, 'L. Tr.' They are these:—

'Dominus de Purpoole, Hatclyff.

'The Prologue	Ellis
'Hidaspes, the sonn	Campion
'Manilius, madd	Anderton
'Pyso	Farnley
'Lucius	Ashley
'Mummius, old man	Topham
'Byrria, parasite	Staverton
'Flamantia, curtizan	Sandfort
'Sr Delicato	Sr Peter Shakerley
'Catelyne	Rhodes
'Clodius	Stanfort
'Salust	Crwe

of February following, 'the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn,' presented before the Queen, at Greenwich, the tragedy of *The Misfortunes of Arthur**; of the body of which Thomas Hughes was the author, Nicholas Trotte writing the induction, and 'Mr. Frauncis Bacon' (afterwards Lord Bacon), with others, assisting in the preparation of the dumb-shews†.

'Cato, 'Crassus	censors	Hulton, Williamson
'Scilla, dictator		Montfort
'Cinna, 1 consul		Davenport
'2 consul		Starkey
'Tribunus Plebis		Smyth
'Melancholy		Campion
'Epilogue		Ellis.

'Masquers.

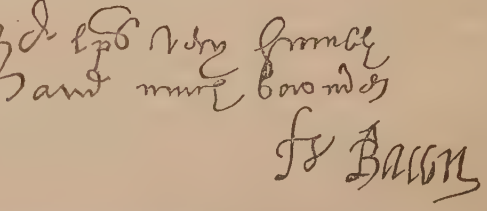
'Rhodes	Ross
'Luttrell	Peniston
'Champnes	Daye.'

* Mr. Nichols, in his Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, does not seem to have been aware of the nature of the representations before her Majesty, at Greenwich, on this occasion: he merely states, that there were performances; but, in the Garrick collection, he might have found the very tragedy that was exhibited.

† At this date Nicholas Trotte (who is not known to have written anything but the induction to this tragedy) was probably on intimate terms with the family of Lord Bacon. Lady Bacon, widow of Sir Nicholas Bacon, in 1594, had given him a horse, which Trotte for some cause sold; and in the Harl. MS., No. 871, is a letter from him to Lady Bacon, excusing himself for having done so, and giving the widow some account of her sons. From Lansdown MS., No. 88, arts. 21, 22, and 24, we learn that, in 1601, Lord Bacon was in debt to Nicholas Trotte to the amount of 1800*l.* His creditor had applied for the payment of the money, but could not obtain it. Lord Bacon (then Mr. Francis Bacon, and a Member of Parliament) in his letter enters into

To about this period may be assigned the subsequent letter from Bacon (who, in 1588, discharged the office of Reader of Gray's Inn) to Lord Burghley, on the subject of a mask, which was to have been undertaken by the four Inns of Court, but which, for some unexplained reason, was not exhibited.

'Yt may please your good L. I am sory the 'joynt maske from the fowr Innes of Court faileth: 'whearin I conceyve thear is no other ground of that 'event, but impossibility. Neverthelesse, bycause it 'falleth owt, that at this tyme Graies Inne is well fur-'nyshed of galant yowng gentlemen, y^r Lp. may be 'pleased to know, that rather then this occasion shall 'passe withowt some demonstration of affection from 'the Innes of Court, thear are a dozen gentlemen of 'Graies Inne, that owt of the honor which they bear 'to your L. and my L. Chamberlayne, to whome at 'theyr last maske they were so much bownden, will 'be ready to furnysh a maske, wyshing it were in their 'powers to performe it according to theyr mynds. 'And so for the present I humbly take my leave, 'resting



some explanations on the subject of his debt, and on certain conditions, Trotte consented to allow him time.

The charges of the Royal Revels, as they appear in the account of the Master of that office, 'from the 'last of October, 1587, in A° 29^mo^ regni A. D. 'Elizabethæ until the last of October, 1589, 1587. 'anno 31^mo^ Dmæ Reginæ,' including therefore the space of two years, were only 506*l.* 9*s.* 7½*d.* Between Christmas and Shrovetide 1587-8, seven plays were performed, one of which was that before mentioned by 'the gentlemen of Grayes Inne,' and the rest were by 'the Children of Poules' and 'her Majesty's own Servaunts,' but the titles of none of the pieces are inserted. 'Feats of activity and other shews' are also spoken of in the account. The same number of plays were performed before the Queen at the same season in 1588-9, by the Queen's Players, the Children of Pauls and the Lord Admiral's men, together with 'feats of activity, tumbling and matachines,' in which Symmons, the tumbler before mentioned, exhibited. In this instance, also, the names of all the pieces are wanting. The items, with few exceptions, are made out in general terms: one of the exceptions is 'for 'the faire writing of all the devises in two copies for 'the Queen,' for which 10*s.* are charged.

That there were revels at Greenwich in November, 1588, is established by the following entry, in the books of the Stationers' Company, of a tract intended for publication:—'The Devyse before the Quenes 'Majestie at her Court at Greenwich, the 12th Nov: '1588.' If such a production were printed, its existence is not at present known.

The statement of the Revels from 1587 to 1589 likewise contains a singular and novel article belonging to the latter year; viz., a splendid mask with all its appurtenances, sent by the Queen into Scotland on the marriage of King James. The expense of this present is not furnished, but the account of the materials, &c. of which it consisted, is headed as follows:—

'Betweene the of September 1589 a° regni 'R^nae Eliz:, and the of the same September, for 'the furnishing of a mask for six maskers and six 'torchbearers, and of such persons as were to utter 'speeches at the shewing of the same maske, sent into 'Scotland to the King of Scotts mariage, by her Ma-'jestie's commaundement, signified unto the M^r and 'other officers of this office by the Lord Treasurer, 'the Lord Chamberleyn and Mr. Vicechamberleine, 'the charges as well for workmanshipp and attendance, 'as for wares delivered & brought into this office for 'and about the same, hereafter particulerly insueth.'

The particulars of the dresses and materials are inserted below*.

* 'A maske of six coates of purple gold tinsell, garded with purple 'and black clothe of silver striped. Bases of crimson clothe of gold, 'with pendants of maled purple silver tinsell. Twoe paire of sleves to 'the same of red cloth of gold, and four paire of sleves to the same of 'white clothe of copper silvered. Six partletts of purple clothe of 'silver knotted. Six hed peces, whereof foure of clothe of gold, knotted 'and twoe of purple clothe of gold braunched. Six fethers to the same 'hed peces. Six mantles, whereof foure of oringe clothe of gold 'braunched. and twoe of purple and white cloth of silver braunched. 'Six vizardes, and six fawchins guilded.

Strype, in his edition of *Stow's Survey*, speaking of the number of companies of players retained as the servants of the nobility, says that it was not unusual for them to be 'put down,' 'upon any gentleman's complaint of them for abuses, or indecent reflections;' and, in proof, he refers to an instance in the year 1589, when the Lord Admiral's and Lord Strange's men were silenced, 'because one Mr. Tylney had utterly, for some reasons, disliked them.' Strype does not seem to have adverted to the fact that this 'one Mr. Tylney' was the Master of the Revels, whose duty it was to watch over the conduct of the players, and who, it will be evident from what follows, must have made some representations to Lord Burghley against the conduct of the actors in the city. The Lord Treasurer accordingly wrote to the Lord Mayor, requiring him to put a stop to all theatrical exhibitions within his jurisdiction. The city authorities proceeded with alacrity to execute these orders; but, although the anonymous correspondent of Sir F. Walsingham, three years before, had mentioned four companies by name, and had asserted, that in the whole the number of players in the city amounted to two hundred, the

'Six cassocks for torche bearers of damaske; three of yellowe, and 'three of red, garded with red and yellowe damaske counterchaunged. 'Six paire of hose of damaske; three of yellowe, and three of red, garded 'with red and yellowe damaske counterchaunged. Six hatts of crimson 'clothe of gold, and six fethers to the same. Six vizardes.

'Foure heares of silke, and foure garlandes of flowers, for the attire 'of them that are to utter certeine speeches at the shewing of the same 'maske.' (Lansd. MSS. No. 59.)

Lord Mayor, in Nov. 1589, could only 'hear of' two companies, and one of those refused to obey his injunctions. The answer of the Lord Mayor to Lord Burghley is extant in the following form:—

'My very ho: good lord. Where by a lre of your 'Lordships, directed to Mr. Yonge, it appered unto 'me, that it was your ho: pleasure I sholde geve order 'for the staie of all playes within the cittie, in that 'Mr. Tilney did utterly mislike the same. According 'to which your Lordships good pleasure, I presentlye 'sent for suche players as I coulde heare of, so as 'there appered yesterday before me the Lord Ad-'miralls, and the Lord Straunges players; to whome 'I speciallie gave in charge, and required them in her 'Majesty's name, to forbere playinge untill further 'order might be geven for theire allowance in that 'respect: Whereuppon the Lord Admiralls players 'very dutifullie obeyed; but the others, in very con-'temptuous manner departing from me, wente to the 'Crosse Keys, and played that afternoone to the greate 'offence of the better sorte, that knew they were pro-'hibited by order from your Lordship. Which as I 'might not suffer, so I sent for the said comtemptuous 'persons, who haveing no reason to alleadge for their 'contempte, I could do no less but this evening com-'mitt tow of them to one of the Compters, and do meane, 'according to your Lordships direction, to prohibite 'all playing until your Lordships pleasure therein be 'further knowen. And thus resting further to trouble

'your Lordship, I moste humblie take my leave. At 'London the sixte of November 1589.

'Yr Lordships most humble

'John Harte, maior*.

By other means we are enabled to arrive at the ground of the objections of the Master of the Revels to the proceedings of the players. They had, in fact, introduced matters of state and religion into their performances. At this date the Marprelate contest was at its height, and Tylney's complaint, and Lord Burghley's interference, may be accounted for by reference to a tract by Thomas Nash, printed in the year when the players in London were silenced by the Lord Treasurer: hence it not only appears, that Martin Marprelate had been brought upon the public stage, but an account is given of the precise manner in which he was exhibited. In Nash's *Returne of the renowned Cavaliero Pasquill of England*, 1589, occurs the following sentence:—'Methought *Vetus Comœdia* began 'to pricke him at London in the right vaine, when 'shee brought foorth *Divinitie* with a scratcht face, 'holding of her hart, as if she were sicke, because '*Martin* would have forced her; but myssing of his 'purpose, he left the print of his nayles upon her 'cheekes, and poysoned her with a vomit, which he 'ministred unto her to make her cast uppe her dig-'nities and promotions.'

Nash calls it *Vetus Comœdia* who brought Martin

* Lansdown MSS. No. 60.

Marprelate on the stage 'at London,' because the performance was evidently in the nature of an old Moral, not partaking of the improvements which, in 1589, had been introduced into dramatic poetry. It was this performance which occasioned the temporary inhibition of plays in the City by the authority of the chief Magistrate, and Nash, in the same tract from which I have just quoted, himself informs us of this consequence. 'I have (he adds, some pages 'afterwards) a tale to tell in her eare of the slye 'practice that was used in restraining of her,' meaning *Vetus Comœdia*, who had ventured to represent upon the stage a matter of state and religion.

John Lyly also, the author of *Pap with an Hatchet*, a pamphlet written, like that of Nash, against the Martinists, and printed before 1590*, alludes, though not quite so distinctly, to the same incident in theatrical history. Nash only notices the construction of one piece; but, according to Lyly, several upon the same theme had been prepared, although they were not allowed to be performed. 'Would (says he) 'those comedies might be allowed to be plaid that are 'penned, and then I am sure he [Martin Marprelate] 'would be decyphered, and so, perhaps, discouraged. 'He shall not be brought in, as whilom he was, and 'yet very well, with a cock's combe, an ape's face, a

* It has no date on the title-page, but it is ascertained to have been published before 1590, by the fact that it is mentioned with high praise by Nash, in his *First part of Pasquill's Apology*, which bears the date of 1590.

'wolfes bellie, cats clawes, &c., but in a cap' de cloake, 'and all the best apparel he ware the highest day in 'the yeare. A stage-player, though he be but a 'cobler by occupation, yet his chaunce may bee to 'play the king's part. Martin, of what calling so-'ever he be, can play nothing but the knave's part. 'Would it not be a fine tragedie, when *Mardocheus* 'shall play a Bishoppe in a play, and Martin Ham-'man; and that he that seekes to pull downe those 'that are set in high authoritie above him, should be 'hoisted upon a tree above all other?'

The marginal note, opposite to the last interrogation, is important: it is this—'If he be shewed at 'Paules it will cost you four-pence: at the Theatre 'twopence: at Sainct Thomas a Watrings, nothing.' Here we see named the very theatres at which dramatic productions upon the subject of the dispute between the Martinists and the Bishops had been represented—*viz.*, at St. Paul's by the dramatic children, and at the Theatre in Shoreditch. St. Thomas a Watrings was a place of execution, and it is truly said, that there any body could see Martin 'hoisted upon a tree' for nothing, although at St. Paul's it would cost four-pence, and at the Theatre two-pence to see him so exhibited.

Chalmers was aware of the consequence, though not of the cause, for he speaks * of the appointment of Commissioners in 1589, to assist Tylney in the reformation of tragedies and comedies; and he quotes

* Apology, p. 483.

from the Registers of the Privy Council three letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Mayor of London, and the Master of the Revels, upon the subject, requiring the first to name a person 'well learned in divinity,' the second to chuse 'a sufficient person learned and of judgment,' and the last to act in conjunction with those two commissioners in inspecting and licensing all plays to be acted 'in and about the city of London.' It is to be remarked, that these three letters were dated on the 12th November, 1589, only six days after the Lord Mayor had written to Lord Burghley, to inform him, that he had called before him the servants of the Lord Admiral and Lord Strange. These communications are subjoined in a note *.

* Nov. 12, 1589. A letter to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.—'That whereas there hathe growne some inconvenience by common 'playes and enterludes in & about the cyttie of London, in [that] the 'players take upon [them] to handle in their plaies certen matters of 'Divinytie and State, unfitt to be suffered: for redresse whereof their 'Lordships have thought good to appointe some persons of judgment 'and understanding to viewe and examine their playes before they 'be permitted to present them publickly. His Lordship is desired 'that some fytt person well learned in divinity be appointed by him, 'to joyne with the Mr. of the Revelles, and one other to be nominated 'by the L: Maior, and they joyntly with some spede to viewe and 'consider of such Comedyes and Tragedies as are and shall be pub-'lickly played by the companies of players in and about the Cittie of 'London, and they to geve allowance of such as they shall thinke 'meete to be played, and to forbyd the rest.'

To the Lord Mayor of London.—'That whereas their Lordships 'have already signifyed unto him to appoint a sufficient person learned 'and of judgement for the Cittie of London, to joyne with the Mr. of

If these commissioners were appointed, and forthwith proceeded in the discharge of their duties, we are without information on the manner in which they executed them, and we are also totally ignorant of the time when their services were discontinued: subsequent to this date we never hear of them. Perhaps after they had performed the immediate object for which they were appointed, their services were no longer required, and the control of all matters relating to the stage might be again left to the Master of the Revels, who had shown such alacrity in calling the

'the Revelles, and with a Divine to be nominated by the Lord Archb. 'of Cant: for the reforminge of the plaies daylie exercysed and pre-'sented publickly in & about the Cittie of London, wherein the players 'take upon them without judgment or decorum to handle matters of 'Divinitie and State. He is required, if he have not as yet made 'choice of such a person, that he will soe do forthwith and there of geve 'knowledge to the Lord Archb. and the M^r. of the Revelles, that they 'may meet accordingly.'

To the Master of the Revels.—'Requiring him with two others, the 'one to be appointed by the Lord Archb. of Canterbury, and the other 'by the Lord Maior of London, to be men of learning and judgment, 'and to call before them the severall companies of players (whose ser-'vaunts soever they be), and to require them by authorytie hereof to 'deliver unto them their books, that they may consider of the matters 'of their Comedyes and Tragedyes, and thereuppon to stryke out or 'reforme such parte and matters, as they shall fynd unfytt and undecent 'to be handled in plaies both for Divinitie & State; commanding the 'said Companies of players in her Majesties name, that they forbear to 'present and play publickly any Comedy or Tragedy, other than such 'as they three shall have seene and allowed: which if they shall not 'observe, they shall lett them know from their Lordships, that they 'shalbe not onely sevearly punished, but made [in]capable of the 'exercise of their profession for ever hereafter,'

attention of the government to the evil. The total prohibition of playing by the Lord Mayor was only temporary.

In 1589, Lord Burghley seems to have been engaged in introducing some new and economical regulations into the Queen's household, and in an account of the ordinary and extraordinary payments in that department, in the hand-writing of the Lord Treasurer, it is stated that in that year the Musicians retained by Elizabeth cost 616*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* per ann. *

The general order of the Privy Council in 1583, after the accident at Paris Garden, that no plays should be acted on Sunday in London and its vicinity, seems to have been effectual for its purpose, until October, 1587, when the inhabitants of Southwark complained that plays and interludes were still repre-

* Among the Cotton. MSS. there are several without date, relating to the Musicians of Elizabeth, which are to be referred to about this period, or a little earlier. Gioseffo Lupo, an instrumental performer, petitioned the Queen for an increase of salary, alleging *Vi ha piaciuto promettergli qualche augmento di gagio.* He subsequently repeated his claim for higher wages, and preferment, asserting that he had served her Majesty for fifteen years. (Cotton. MSS. Titus, B. ii.) About the same time Gli Fratelli Bussani prayed the Queen that one year's salary due to their brother Edward, and which for some cause had been withheld, might be paid. Pietro Lupo, a performer upon the violin, Cotton. MSS. Titus, B. viii., entreated the interposition of the unnamed person he addresses with Sir Thomas Henneage, for the advance of a quarter's wages, *perche io sono tornato di Alamagna senza haver potuto prevalermi di alcuni miei crediti di quel paese.* In another letter he offers to return to his service at Court, from whence he had withdrawn himself.

sented on the Sabbath, 'especially within the Liberty 'of the Clink, and within the parish of St. Saviours.' On the 29th October, therefore, (as appears by the Registers,) the Privy Council wrote to the Magistrates of Surrey and Middlesex, requiring them to take strict order for the prevention of such an occurrence in future. Nevertheless on Sunday, 11th June, 1592, a riot took place in Southwark, headed by the servants of the Felt-makers' company and others, for the purpose of rescuing a person who had been committed to the Marshalsea; and the Lord Mayor (William Webbe), in a letter to Lord Burghley *, dated on the following day, asserts that 'the sayed companies as-'sembled themselves by occasion and pretence of their 'meeting at a play, which besides the breach of the 'Sabboth day, giveth opportunitie of committing these 'and such like disorders.' In 1592, therefore, plays were still performed on Sunday †.

Prior to the year 1591, but how much earlier cannot be ascertained, the performances by the children of

* Lansdown MSS. No. 71.

† In a letter from the Privy Council to the Lord Mayor, dated 25th July, 1591, (See Chalmers's Apology, p. 379) the Lords notice the neglect of the order against playing on the Sabbath day, and they go on to state that the representation of interludes, &c. on other days of the week was 'a great hurt and destruction of the game of bear-baiting 'and like pastimes, which are maintained for her Majesty's pleasure 'if occasion require.' They therefore direct, that no plays shall be shown either on Sundays or on Thursdays, 'because on the Thurs-'days, these other games usually have been always accustomed and 'practised.'

Paul's, in their singing school, were suppressed. Malone asserts, unqualifiedly, that this event occurred in 1583-4*; but the earliest authority on the point is dated 1591, *viz.*, the address of the printer before Lyly's 'Endymion,' published in that year. 'Since '(he says) the plays in Pauls were dissolved, there are 'certain comedies come to my hands,' &c., speaking as if it were a recent event. We know, likewise, that several of Lyly's pieces were represented by the children of St. Paul's subsequent to 1584. Malone also quotes Heywood's 'Apology for Actors,' 1612, to show that the performances at St. Paul's were forbidden on account of the personal abuse and scurrility put into 'the mouths of children;' but this piece of evidence would apply equally to the children of the Revels†. The cause of the suppression must, there-

* See note on Hamlet, Act ii. Scene 2.

† The whole passage in Heywood's *Apology for Actors* runs thus, and the reader will see that he points at no particular company of youthful performers.

'Now to speak of some abuse lately crept into the quality, as an 'inveighing against the state, the court, the law, the city and their 'governments, with the particularising of private men's humours, yet 'alive, noblemen and others, I know it distates many; neither do I 'any way approve it, nor dare by any means excuse it. The liberty 'which some arrogate to themselves, committing their bitterness and 'liberal invectives against all estates to the mouths of children, sup-'posing their juniority to be a privilege for any railing, be it never so 'violent, I could advise all such to curb and limit this presumed 'liberty within the bands of discretion and government. But wise and 'judicial censurers, before whom such complaints shall at any time

fore, remain in doubt, as I am not aware of the existence of any testimony, direct or indirect, upon the point, unless it arose out of the manner in which the children of Paul's had brought Martin Marprelate on their stage in 1589, as before mentioned. In his 'Have with you to Saffron Waldon,' 1596, Nash states that the interdict had not then been taken off, for he expresses a wish to see 'the plays at Pauls up again.' It had been removed prior to 1600, because a piece called 'The Maids Metamorphosis,' attributed to Lyly, was 'acted by the Children of Powles' and printed in that year. In 'Jack Drum's Entertainment,' first published in 1601, the following dialogue occurs respecting their audiences and their plays.

'hereafter come will not, I hope, impute these abuses to any trans-
'gression in us, who have ever been careful and provident to shun the
'like.'

We are to recollect, that at the time when Hamlet was first produced (perhaps late in 1602, or early in 1603), the children of the Revels performed, as an independent and rival body, at the Blackfriars Theatre, as well as the full-grown company to which Shakespeare belonged; and I entertain little doubt, that the poet meant his attack for the children of the Revels, and not for the children of Paul's. Malone says, 'our author cannot be supposed to direct any satire at 'those young men who played occasionally at his own theatre:' why not? especially if they were more 'the fashion,' 'berattled the common stages,' and attracted larger audiences.

The 4to of 1603, in the Collection of the Duke of Devonshire, and which, I think, was demonstrably published in haste from a short-hand copy, taken from the mouths of the players, was not discovered when Malone fixed the date of the production of Hamlet in 1600.

'*Sir Edw. Fortune.* I saw the children of Powles last
'night,
'And, troth, they pleas'd me pretty, pretty well:
'The apes in time will do it handsomely.
'*Planet.* I'faith, I like the audience that frequenteth
'there,
'With much applause. A man shall not be choked
'With the stench of garlick, nor be pasted
'To the barmy jacket of a beer brewer.
'*Brabant, Jun.* 'Tis a good gentle audience, and I
'hope the boys
'Will come one day into the Court of Requests.
'*Brabant, Sen.* Aye; and they had good plays, but
'they produce
'Such musty fopperies of antiquity,
'And do not suit the humorous age's back
'With clothes in fashion.'

Hence we may infer that the performance by the children of Paul's had not long recommenced, because it is remarked that they wanted practice—'the apes in time will do it handsomely:'—they, perhaps, acted before 1601, chiefly 'musty fopperies of antiquity,' because, during their long silence, they had not been able to furnish themselves with pieces, that would 'suit the humorous age's back with clothes in fashion.' Marston, Dekker, and others, soon provided them with more modern and more attractive plays, and the 'Antonio and Mellida' of the first, and the 'Satiromastix' of the last, were acted in, or before 1602. The conclusion, from all the existing evidence, seems to be, that the interdiction was imposed about 1589 or 1590, and withdrawn about 1600. When, in the

preceding quotation, Brabant, junior, expresses a hope that the boys of Paul's 'will come one day into the Court of Requests,' he means, that they will again be in request for performances at court, as they formerly had been.

In 1591, Queen Elizabeth paid a visit to Lord Burghley, at Theobalds, where, it seems, she was received with much solemnity, although the Lord Treasurer did not himself make his appearance to welcome her. In March, 1587, he had lost his mother at a very advanced age, and in April, 1589, his wife, to whom he was deeply attached, died: in the interval, also, his daughter, Lady Oxford, had expired, so that in 1591, depressed by these misfortunes, he had resolved to retire from public life, and the visit of the Queen was, perhaps, intended to revive his spirits, and to recall him to her active service. Mr. Nichols, in his 'Progresses,' under this date, relates all that was known upon this point, and without being able to explain it, inserts from Strype a sort of mock writ or summons, directed to Sir Christopher Hatton, the object of which was, by a little official playfulness, to withdraw Lord Burghley from his seclusion: in that document he is spoken of as a Hermit; and it seems clear, that since the death of his wife, two years and some months anterior, he had quitted his noble mansion in disgust, and, making only occasional visits to court, had resided in some obscure cottage in the neighbourhood of Theobalds.

A MS. poem, in blank verse, has fallen into my hands, which serves to explain the whole proceeding: it is a speech supposed to be delivered by a Hermit to the Queen, on her first arrival at Theobalds, the purpose of which was to excuse the absence of Lord Burghley, by stating that he had taken up his abode in the cell belonging to the Hermit, in consequence of his grief, and had enjoined the Hermit to do the honours of the house in his stead. Robert Cecill, knighted just afterwards, was the person who pronounced the speech, and he referred to it when the Queen again came to Theobalds in 1594. It was written by a poet no less distinguished than George Peele, who was employed by Lord Burghley's son to aid the scheme; for the mock writ, before mentioned, which puzzled Strype, and as he says, defied commentary, is besought by the individual in the disguise of a Hermit. The whole piece is in the poet's handwriting, and his initials, G. P., are subscribed at the end*. It refers to other points (among them, to the defeat of the Spanish Armada) which will be easily understood by those who are at all acquainted with the public and private history of the times:

* The circumstance of his having been employed, and successfully, on this occasion, may have emboldened Peele, in 1596, to make a charitable appeal to Lord Burghley, when in extreme poverty he sent to his lordship the 'Tale of Troy.' See a fac-simile of Peele's letter, from Lansdown MS., No. 99, in the 2d edition of 'Peele's Works,' by the Rev. A. Dyce. That letter is in the Italian hand, then most fashionable, but Peele also wrote the common English hand: the body of this poem is in the latter, and some corrections in the former.

however interesting, as it would occupy too much space in the text, I have subjoined the whole of this production in a note *.

* It has no title nor introduction, but commences thus:—

'My soverayn Lady, & most gratious Queene,
'Be not displeased, that won [one] so meanly clad
'Presumes to stand thus bowldly in the way
'That leades into this howse, accownted yours:
'But myld, and full of pytty as you ar,
'Hear & respect my lamentable tale.
'I am a hermitt that this x yeares space
'Have led a sollytarye & retyred lyfe,
'Hear in my cell, not past a furlonge hence,
'Tyll by my fownder, he that buylt this howse,
'Forgettfull of his wryghttynge & his woord,
'Full sore agaynst my wyll I was removed;
'For he, oretaken with excessive greefe,
'Betooke hym to my sylly hermytage,
'And there hath lyued two yeeres & som few monethes,
'By reason of these most bitter accidents.
'As, fyrst of all, his aged Mother's deathe
'Who lyved a fyfte, & saw her fower discents
'Of those that linneally have sproong from her:
'His daughters deathe, a countess of this land,
'Lost in the pryme & mornynge of her yowthe;
'And last of all his deare & loveinge wyfe.
'These broght him to this solitary aboade,
'Wher now he keepes, & hath injoyned me
'To govern this his howse & famely:
'A place unfitt for on [one] of my professyne;
'And therfore have I ofte desyred with teares,
'That I myght be restored to my cell,
'Becawse I vowed a lyfe contemplatyve:
'But all in vayn; for though to serve your Ma^tie
'He often quyttes the place & coms to cowrte,
'Yett thether he repayres, & ther wyll lyve.
'Which I perceavyng, sought by holly prayers
'To chaynge his mind, & eas my troubled cares;
'Then haveinge many dayes with sacred rytes
'Prepard my selfe to entertayn good thoughts,

In a tract, attributed (like 'Leicester's Common Wealth') to Parsons the Jesuit, I believe, printed

'I went up to the lantern of this halle,
'The better to behowld godds woorks above,
'And, sooddenly, when my devotion gan
'To perce the heavens, that [there] did appear to me
'A lady clad in whyte, who closed my eyes
'And castyng me into a slumberyng traunce,
'I am, sayd shee, that holly prophetes
'Who sung the byrthe of Chryste er he appeerd:
'Sibilla is my name, and I have hard
'The mone thou makst for thy unqwyet lyfe.
'Take thou this table, note the verces well:
'Every fyrst gowlden letter of thes lynes,
'Beeinge put together, sygnyfye her name
'That can & wyll releve thy mysserye:
'And therfore presently go serche her out—
'A pryncely parragon, a mayden Queene,
'For suche a won ther is and only won.
'And therwithall shee vanysht was agen.
'After this vyssyon, commyng down from thence,
'The brute was that your Magestie would come;
'But yet my fownder kept his hermytage,
'And gave me warrant to provyde for all,
'A taske unfyttyng one so base as I,
'Whom nether soons nor servantts would obay;
'The yoonger lyke to scorne my poor advyce,
'Becawsse that he hearafter in this place
'Was to becom the gardian of this howsse,
'And so the same to settle in his blood,
'By that yoong babe, whome I have hard of late
'By your appoyntment beares my fownders name.
'Therfore I wyshe for my good fownders sake,
'That he may lyve with this his fyrst born soon,
'Long tyme to serve your sacred Ma^tie,
'As his grandfather faythefully hathe doon.
'Now synce you know my most distressed plyght,
'My gardian's carelessnes, which cam by care,
'I humblye crave thes versses may be red,
'Whose capital letters make ELIZABETH,

abroad, in 1592, and of which various MS. copies were circulated in England, I find the following paragraph, complaining that players A. D. 1592.

'By yow my noble Lo. hyghe Admirall;
'The rather for this great prophetes
'Semed unto me as if shee had foretowld
'Your famous victorye ore that Spannishe Navye,
'Which by themselves was termed Invyncyble;
'Seeinge in thes lynes your pryncely name is wrett,
'The miracle of tyme, and nature's glorye.
'And yow ar shee of whom Sibilla spake
'Voutchsafe to pytty this your beadmans playnt,
'And call my fownder home unto his howse,
'That he may entertayn your Majestie,
'And see thes walks, whearin he lyttle joyes,
'Delyghtfull for your hyghnes & your trayne,
'Wherin lykewyse his ij soones that be present
'Wilbe both dewtyfull and dyllygent';
'And this young La. Veare, thats helld so deer,
'Of my best fownder, her good grandfather.
'And lastly for my sellfe, most gratious Queene,
'May it pleas yow to restore me to my cell,
'And at your hyghnes absolute command
'My L. hyghe Chanceler may award a wrytt
'For peaceable possession of the same;
'And that [your] Majesties L. Chamberlayn
'May from your hyghnes have the lyke command,
'To cawse my fownder, now the gardian
'Of this howsse, increast for your delyght,
'To take the charge therof this present nyght.
'Which beeing doon, Ill to my hermytage,
'And for your hyghnes pray contynewally,
'That god may powre uppon yow all his blessyngs,
'And that the hower glas of your happie raygne
'May roon at full, and never be at wayne.
'Thus haveinge nowght of vallew, or of worthe,
'Fytt to present to suche a peerles Queene,
'I offer to your hyghnes, here, this bell,
'A bell which hermytts call S^t. Anthonie,

'Gyven

had been allowed in England to 'scoff and jest' at the King of Spain, and the Roman Catholic religion, with impunity. The writer is speaking of the support received by the Turks from England, at the time when the war was pending between the Ottoman Power and Spain, and he proceeds as follows:—

'And therefore as an introduction hereunto, to make 'him [the King of Spain] odious unto the people, 'certaine players were suffered to scoffe and jeast 'at him uppon their common stages, and the like was 'used in the contempt of his Religion, first by making 'it no better then Turkish, by annexing unto the 'Psalmes of David, as though the prophet him selfe 'had bene the author thereof, this ensuinge meeter:—

'Preserve us, Lord, by thy deare word
'From Turke and Pope defend us, Lord,
'That both would thrust out of his throne
'Our lord Jesus Christ thy deare sonne*.'

The Council Register under date of 29th July,
A. D. 1593, contains the copy of a letter by the
1593. Lords to the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge, in strict accordance with that which, on the 30th

'Gyven me by my noble Lord and fownder,
'And Ill betake me to this brazen bell,
'Which better me beseemes ten M foold,
'Then any one of syllver or of goold.

'Finis. G. P.'

* 'A Declaration of the true causes of the greate troubles supposed 'to be intended ag^t. the Realme of England, wherein the indifferent 'Reader shall manifestly perceive by whome, and by what meanes, the 'Realme is brought into pretended perills.'—1592.

October, 1575, they had sent to the same authority. After stating at some length the necessity of keeping pure the fountains from which learning flowed to all parts of the kingdom, it forbids that 'plays, or enterludes of common players, be used or set forth,' either in the University or within five miles round it, and especially in the town of Chesterton. This renewed order was produced by the following circumstances and correspondence, which have never yet been explained nor published.

On the 1st September, 1592, the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge and certain Justices of the Peace, issued a warrant to the Constable of Cambridge, opening thus: 'Whereas, there be certaine persons lately re-'payred unto the University and towne of Cambridge, 'having in purpose, ether there or in some other place 'there nere unto, by the shewing of certeine Inter-'ludes, Plaies or Tragedies, to procure the assemblie 'of her Majesty's subjects and people:' it then goes on to direct, that all the inhabitants shall be ordered not to further the design, by allowing the players to occupy for the purpose any 'roomes, houses or yardes,' and that they shall be warned to proceed at their peril.

The players nevertheless did perform at Chesterton, and on the 8th September, Dr. Some, the Vice Chancellor, wrote to the Privy Council, reciting the letter of October, 1575, and adding, that 'certaine light 'persons, pretending themselves to be her Majesties

'Plaiers *, &c., did take boldness, not onely here to 'proclaime their Enterludes, (by setting up of writings 'about our college gates) but also actually at Ches-'terton to play the same, which is a village within the 'compasse of the jurisdiction, graunted to us by her 'Majesties charter †, and situated hard by the plott 'where Sturbridge fair is kept.' The Vice Chancellor then complains, that the Constable, to whom the warrant had been directed, had neglected his duty, and requires the Privy Council to call before it the Players, the Constable, and the 'party in whose house the interludes were played,' in order that they might be duly punished.

It is most likely that this communication did not produce the desired effect, for ten days afterwards we

* According to Camden's 'Annals,' the plague raged in London in the autumn of 1592: the theatres were consequently closed, which will account for the wandering of the Queen's Players into the country.

† This Charter was granted by Elizabeth, in the third year of her reign, and it limits the bounds of the University to one mile round the town of Cambridge. Henry III., in the 54th year of his reign, had granted letters patent, that *tornecamenta aliqua, aventuræ, justæ seu cujusmodi hastiludia non fiant in villa predicta seu, per quinque milliaria circumquaque.*

It appears by Lansdown MS. No. 33, that on the 22d April, 1581, a disturbance took place at Chesterton, between the Proctors of the University and a Bearward, who asserted his right to exhibit there as 'the Lord Vaux's man.' The offending parties afterwards made their submission, but Dr. And. Perne, Vice Chancellor, wrote to Lord Burghley, claiming a jurisdiction five miles round Cambridge, under the letters patent of Henry III.

find Dr. Some, backed by Dr. Legge, Dr. Goade, and five other heads of colleges, repeating the complaint with some fresh particulars against Lord North and Dutton, the player, who had treated their authority with contempt. After referring to the warrant of the 1st September, the Vice Chancellor and his colleagues proceed in these terms. 'How slightly that warrant 'was regarded, as well by the Constables and thin-'habitants of Chesterton, as by the Players themselves, '(whereof one Dutton is a principale) appeared by 'their bills sett up upon our Colledge gates, and by 'their playeing in Chesterton, notwithstanding our 'said warrant to the contrary. One of the Constables 'tould us, that he heard the Players saye, that they 'were licenced by the Lord Northe to play in Ches-'terton. We cannot chardge his Lordship otherwise 'with that particuler; but wee are able to justify, 'that the Lord Northe, upon like occasion heretofore, 'being made acquainted with the said letters of the 'Lords of the Counsell, retorned aunswere in writinge, 'that those letters were no perpetuity. And likewise 'also in this very action, when the Players came to 'him for his Lordships allowance for their playeinge 'in Chesterton, and some of us did then tell his Lord-'ship, that wee had the Lords of the Counsells letters 'to the contrary, he openly uttered in the hearinge 'aswell of the Players as of diverse Knights and Gen-'tlemen of the Shier then present, that the date of 'those letters was almost expired. And he said then 'further to the Players, that althoughe they should

'play at Chesterton, yet the Vicechancellor durst not 'commit them therefore.'

They conclude (leaving 'the correction of the contempt' to the wisdom of the Privy Council) by soliciting the renewal of the letter of 1575, in order that Lord North and the players might be deprived of the plea, that the date of it had nearly expired*. Thus the matter seems to have rested until the 17th of the following July (1593), when the Vice-Chancellor and his colleagues† reminded Lord Burghley of the general complaint against 'public shews and common plays,' and prayed that the University might be freed from players, 'that badd kinde of 'people who are (as wee thinke) the most ordinary 'cariers and dispersers' of the infection of the plague‡.

A. D. 1593.

* Lord North, who lived at Kirtling, a short distance from Cambridge, was a great favourer of players. Extracts from a book containing his household expenses were published by the Antiquarian Society: they begin in January 1st, 1575, and come down to January, 1582. He had no players of his own, but those of the nobility not unfrequently visited his mansion, and were rewarded as usual, as the following extracts will establish:—

'July 1576. Lord Sussex Minstrells . . 5*s.*
'Dec. 3d, 1577. To my Lo. Howards Plaiers . 5*s.*
'Nov. 4, 1578. Lo: Lesters Plaiers . . 40*s.*
'May, 1580. To my L. of Lesters Plaiers . 25*s.*'

† *Vide* Lansdown MSS. No. 82, where this correspondence is to be found.

‡ The plague continued to rage in the summer and autumn of 1593, and Michaelmas Term was held in consequence at St. Alban's. The following regulation (as is stated in the Register) was presented to the Privy Council:—

'That for avoyding of great concourse of people, which causeth

The renewed letter was dispatched twelve days afterwards; and it will be observed that it conceded all that was demanded, giving the Vice Chancellor power, in the town of Cambridge and for five miles round it, to put down 'interludes and plays, some of them being full of lewd examples, and most of vanity.' On the same day (29th July, 1593,) a similar letter was dispatched to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, though it does not seem to have been called for by any corresponding events there.

We must now look at the University of Cambridge, and within three months afterwards, in a very different capacity,—as the performers of plays, and with a Vice Chancellor who was the author of one of the very earliest comedies in our language. In December, 1592, Dr. John Still, the author of *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, was at the head of the University of Cambridge; and a command was received from London, that a comedy in English should be got up there for the amusement of the Queen, as in consequence of the prevalence of the plague, her own actors could not play before her at Christmas. It is somewhat singular, that such an order should have been given after what had so recently transpired, and it almost looks as if

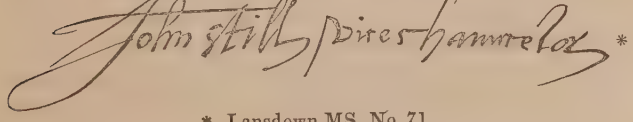
'increase of the infection, it were convenient that all Playes, Beare-'baytings, Cockpitts, common Bowling alleyes, and such like unne-'cessarie assemblies, should be suppressed during the time of infection, 'for that infected people after their long keepinge in, and before they 'be cleered of their disease and infection, being desirous of recreation 'use to resort to such assemblies, where through heate and thronge 'they infect many sound personnes.'

Elizabeth and her courtiers intended it as a sort of reproof to the University: it is remarkable also, that Dr. Still, the author of a comedy in English, which was acted before the Queen at Christ's College in 1566, should be the chief instrument in making the request, that the play should be in Latin, as 'more beseeming the students.' This request is contained in a letter, signed by Dr. Still as Vice Chancellor, and six others, of which the following is a copy:—

'Right Honorable. Our most humble duties re-
'membered. Upon Saturday last, being the second of
'December, we receaved lres from Mr. Vicechamber-
'lein by a Messinger sent purposely, wherein, by
'reason that her Majesties owne servants in this time
'of infection may not disport her Highnes with their
'wonted and ordinary pastimes, his Honor hath moved
'our University (as he writeth that he hath also done
'the other of Oxford) to prepare a Comedie in
'Englishe, to be acted before her Highnes by some of
'our Students in this time of Christmas. How ready
'wee are to do any thing that may tend to her Ma-
'jesties pleasure, wee are very desirous by all meanes
'to testify; but how fitt we shall be for this is moved,
'having no practise in this Englishe vaine, and beinge
'(as wee think) nothing beseminge our Students, spe-
'cially oute of the University, wee much doubt: and
'do find our principale actors (whome wee have of
'purpose called before us) very unwilling to playe in
'Englishe. Wherefore wee thought it not onely our
'duties to give intelligence hereof unto your Lord-

'ship, as being our chiefe hedd and governor, but 'also very expedient for us to crave your Lordships 'wisdome, either to dissuade the matter withoute any 'displeasure unto us, yf wee shall not seeme meete in 'your Lordships judgment for that purpose, or to 'advise us by your honorable direction what maner of 'argument we should chuse, and what course is best 'to followe. Englishe Comedies, for that wee never 'used any, wee presentlie have none: to make or 'translate one in such shortnes of time wee shall not 'be able: and therefore, if wee must needes undertake 'the busines, and that with conveniencie it may be 'graunted, these two things we would gladly desire: 'some further limitation of time for due preparation, 'and liberty to play in Latyn. How fitt these are to 'be requested or graunted, your Lordship, who well 'knoweth her Majesties disposition and our maner, is 'best able to judge: ourselves onely do move them, 'referring both them, and the whole cause, unto your 'Lordships consideration. And so, with our most 'harty prayers to Almightie God for your Lordships 'long continuance in healthe, and dayly increase in 'honor, wee humblie take our leaves. From the 'University of Cambridge, this fourthe of December, '1592.

'Your Lordships most humble to be comaunded,



* Lansdown MS. No. 71.

This remonstrance was also subscribed by six other heads of houses:—Roger Goade, R. Some, Umphrey Tyndall, William Whitaker, Edmund Harwell, and John Jegon; and there is reason to suppose that it was effectual. In the next year, Dr. Thomas Legge (author of the Latin Tragedy of Richard III., so highly praised by Sir John Harington in his *Apology of Poetry*) was Vice Chancellor; and in a communication to Lord Burghley he refers to some offence given to the Queen, probably by the preceding letter, and mentions, that the University of Cambridge had sent some of its body to Oxford, to witness the entertainment there given to her Majesty, in order to be better prepared hereafter to obey her directions*.

This difference, as far as we can judge, was arranged by the next year, when the University of Cambridge acted 'certaine comœdies and one tragœdie,' and through its then Vice-Chancellor, Thomas Nevile, requested the loan of the royal robes in the Tower for this purpose†. This favour had been

A. D. 1594-5.

* Lansdown MS., No. 75.

† The subsequent is a copy of the letter containing this request: it is among the Lansdown MSS., No. 78.

'Our bounden dutie in most humble wise remembred. 'Whereas we intend, for the exercise of young gentlemen & scholers 'in our Colledge, to set forth certaine Comœdies and one Tragœdie, 'there being in that Tragœdie sondry personages of greatest astate 'to be represented in auncient princely attire, which is no where to 'be had but within the office of the Roabes at the Tower; it is our 'humble request, your most honorable Lordship would be pleased 'to graunt your Lordships warrant unto the chiefe officers there,

granted before, and probably, on this occasion, it was not refused.

The Blackfriars Theatre, built in 1576, seems, after the lapse of twenty years, to have required extensive repairs, if, indeed, it were not, at the end of that period, entirely rebuilt. This undertaking, in 1596, A. D. seems to have alarmed some of the inhabit- 1596. ants of the Liberty; and not a few of them, 'some of honour,' petitioned the Privy Council, in order that the players might not be allowed to complete it, and that their farther performances in that precinct might be prevented. A copy of the document, containing this request, is preserved in the State Paper Office, and to it is appended a much more curious paper—a counter petition by the Lord Chamberlain's players, entreating that they might be permitted to continue their work upon the theatre, in order to render it more commodious, and that their performances there might not be interrupted. It does not appear to be the original, but a copy, without the signatures, and it contains, at

'that upon sufficient securetie we might be furnished from thence with 'such meete necessaries as are required. Which favor we have found 'heretofore on your good Lordships like honorable warrant, that hath 'the rather embouldened us at this time. And so, craving pardon for 'this presumption, with remembrance of our dayly prayers unto God 'for the preservation of your honorable health to his owne great glory, 'we humbly take our leave. From Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge, '28° January, 1594–[5],

'Your Lordships most bounden,

'ever to be commaunded,

'Thomas Nevile.'

the commencement, an enumeration of the principal actors who were parties to it. They occur in the following order, and it will be instantly remarked, not only that the name of Shakespeare is found among them, but that he comes fifth in the enumeration:—

'Thomas Pope,
'Richard Burbage,
'John Hemings,
'Augustine Phillips,
'William Shakespeare,
'William Kempe,
'William Slye,
'Nicholas Tooley.

This remarkable paper has, perhaps, never seen the light from the moment it was presented, until it was very recently discovered. It is seven years anterior to the date of any other authentic record, which contains the name of our great dramatist, and it may warrant various conjectures as to the rank he held in the company in 1596, as a poet and as a player*. It is in these terms:—

'To the right honourable the Lords of her 'Majesties most honourable Privie Councell.

'The humble petition of Thomas Pope, 'Richard Burbadge, John Hemings, Augustine Phil- 'lips, William Shakespeare, William Kempe, Wil-

* Malone had nothing upon which to found himself, but the list of actors in some of Ben Jonson's plays, and the enumeration in the licence of 1603. The name of Shakespeare is, in the latter, preceded only by that of a person (Lawrence Fletcher) not mentioned in 1596, as having anything to do with the company: Burbage, Phillips, and

'liam Slye, Nicholas Tooley, and others, servaunts to 'the Right Honorable the Lord Chamberlaine to her 'Majestie.

'Sheweth most humbly, that your Petitioners are 'owners and players of the private house, or theatre, 'in the precinct and libertie of the Blackfriers, which 'hath beene for many yeares used and occupied for 'the playing of tragedies, commedies, histories, enter-'ludes, and playes. That the same, by reason of its 'having beene so long built, hath fallen into great 'decay, and that besides the reparation thereof, it has 'beene found necessarie to make the same more con-'venient for the entertainement of auditories coming 'thereto. That to this end your Petitioners have all 'and eche of them put down sommes of money, accord-'ing to their shares in the said theatre, and which they 'have justly and honestly gained by the exercise of their 'qualitie of stage-players; but that certaine persons, '(some of them of honour) inhabitants of the said 'precinct and libertie of the Blackfriers have, as your 'Petitioners are infourmed, besought your honourable 'Lordshipps not to permitt the said private house any 'longer to remaine open, but hereafter to be shut up 'and closed, to the manifest and great injurie of your 'petitioners, who have no other meanes whereby to 'maintain their wives and families, but by the exercise 'of their qualitie as they have heretofore done. Further-

Hemings, who stand before him in 1596, were postponed to him in 1603, to such importance does he seem to have risen in the interval. It is not necessary to point out other differences.

'more, that in the summer season your Petitioners are 'able to playe at their new built house on the Bank-'side calde the Globe, but that in the winter they are 'compelled to come to the Blackfriers; and if your 'honorable Lordshipps give consent unto that which 'is prayde against your Petitioners, they will not 'onely, while the winter endures, loose the meanes 'whereby they now support them selves and their 'families, but be unable to practise them selves in anie 'playes or enterludes, when calde upon to perform for 'the recreation and solace of her Ma^tie and her honora-'ble Court, as they have beene heretofore acustomed. 'The humble prayer of your Petitioners therefore is, 'that your honorable Lordshipps will grant permission 'to finish the reparations and alterations they have 'begun; and as your Petitioners have hitherto been 'well ordred in their behaviour, and just in their 'dealings, that your honorable Lordshipps will not 'inhibit them from acting at their above namde pri-'vate house in the precinct and libertie of the Black-'friers, and your Petitioners, as in dutie most boun-'den, will ever pray for the increasing honor and hap-'pinesse of your honorable Lordshipps.'

It is to be presumed, that this petition accomplished its object, as we no where find, that there was any pause in the performances at Blackfriars, beyond that which always occurred in the summer, when probably these repairs were undertaken and completed, as at that date the company would be acting at the Globe.

We have had no accounts from the office of the

Revels since 1589: if they were made out by Tylney they have not survived; and in 1597, the department was in a state of great disorganization. In a document among the papers of the Lord Treasurer*, it is stated, that in 1597, 'two 'whole year's charge was behind unpaid, to the great 'hinderance of the poor artificers.' A person who signs himself 'poor Bryan Dodmer,' who was put forward on behalf of many others, presented a petition to the Queen, in which he asserted, that in the last year and nine months 1550*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* had become due to various parties; and William Bowles, yeoman of the Chamber, for his own share, in a separate petition, claimed 136*l.* The Master and Yeoman of the Revels are not mentioned, but the Clerk of the Revels submitted to Lord Burghley a plan for the reform of the office. The principal feature in this plan was, that a new officer, to be called Serjeant of the Revels, should be named to superintend the whole, and to enforce economy. The building where the dresses, armour, &c. were kept, had at this period fallen into a state of great dilapidation, so that the properties had been much injured by exposure to the damp†. Whether

A. D. 1597.

* Lansdown MSS., No. 83.

† In this document the subsequent account is given, of the origin of the Office of the Revels, and it is doubtless correct: it is said, that in the first instance the King appointed a Master of the Revels, as he was required, for different festive occasions—then, that the offices of the Revels, Tents and Toils were united, and that one Travers, as Serjeant, had the management of them. After his death, Sir Thomas Cawarden succeeded to the appointment, and 'misliking to be called Serjeant,'

anything was done by the Lord Treasurer, in consequence of these representations, we have now no means of knowing; but if Tylney were temporarily in disgrace, he notwithstanding retained his appointment.

It is not easy to fix the exact date of the literary curiosity I have now, for the first time, to put in print. It is a letter without date, and in the present state of the original without signature, but it was the production of the celebrated Thomas Nash, the satirist and dramatist; and it once, no doubt, had his name at the bottom of it, though now (with the exception of the top of the letter N. which is still visible) worn away, in consequence of the binding of the volume of MSS. in which it is inserted, being too short for this, and other communications it contains*. It seems never to have had a date, but the temporary allusions in it are numerous, and perhaps the latest is the mention of the publication of the *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, by Sir John (then Mr.) Harington, which took place

was made, by patent from Henry VIII., first Master of the Revels. A Clerk, Comptroller, and other sub-officers, were afterwards added for his assistance. The next step was, that Queen Elizabeth divided the office again into three departments—the Revels, Tents, and Toils; giving the first to Sir Thomas Benger, the second to Mr. Henry Sackford, and the third to Mr. Tamworth. With regard to Travers, above mentioned, he is perhaps the Edmund Travore whose name is found in the King's Book of Payments, Dec. 9, 10 Henry VIII. He may possibly be the Edm. Tho. who is said to have been *Magister Jocorum et Revellorum*, and preceded Sir Thomas Cawarden. *Vide* p. 134.

* Some person has written 'T. Nashe' at the corner of the letter perhaps to preserve the name before it became quite illegible.

after August, 1596. The writer of this letter, among other things, speaks of his own productions 'for the stage a[nd] for the press,' and he addresses it in the following manner: 'To the Right worshipfull my very 'loving Cosen, Mr. Robert Cotton esquire, at Con-'ington. these.'—It is found in one of the volumes of letters sent by an immense variety of correspondents to Sir Robert Cotton, and it may be taken to establish a new fact connected with the history of Nash; *viz.* that he was in some way related to Sir Robert Cotton: he has himself led us to suppose that his family was respectable*. It is immediately connected with the subject before us, in as much as it mentions the persecution of the players at that time, by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London. It is to be regretted, that part of the letter is too gross to allow it to be quoted entire: it is, however, to be recollected, that in this portion of his epistle, Nash is alluding to one of the coarsest works that has ever appeared in our language. The reader will lose nothing in point of information, by the omission of such passages. The rest of the letter runs thus:

'Sir,—This tedious dead vacation is to me as un-'fortunate, as a terme at Hertford, or S[t]. Albons † to

* In his *Lenten Stuffe*, 1599, where he states that he was born at Leostoffe in Suffolk, but that his father was of the Nashes of Herefordshire. Sir R. Cotton was of a Huntingdonshire family.

† Nash's attention was directed to this circumstance, because in the very autumn of the year when his *Summers Last Will and Testament* was performed, 1593, Michaelmas term was kept at St. Albans, in consequence of the prevalence of the plague in London.

'poore cuntry clients, or Jack Cade's rebellion to the 'lawyers, wherein they hanged up the Chief Justice. 'In towne I stayd (being earnestly invited elsewhere) 'upon had-I-wist hopes of an after harvest I expected 'by writing for the stage, and for the presse, when now 'the players, as if they had writt another Christs 'Tears *, are piteously persecuted by the L Maior and 'the Aldermen; and however in their old Lords tyme 'they thought their state settled, it is now so uncer- 'tayne they cannot build upon it: and for the prin- 'ters, there is such gaping amongst them for the coppy 'of my L of Essex † voyage, and the ballet of threscore 'and foure Knights, that though my Lord Marquesse 'wrote a second parte of his *fever furder or idlenesse*‡, 'or Churchyard enlarg'd his Chips §, saying they were 'the very same which Christ in Carpenters Hall is 'paynted gathering up, as Joseph, his father, strewes 'hewing a piece of timber, and Mary, his mother, sitts 'spinning by, yet would not they give for them the

* Nash's *Christs Teares over Jerusalem*, a prose tract, was not printed until after September, 1593, for on the 16th of that month Gabriel Harvey refers to it as 'promised,' in his *New Letter of Notable Contents*. Nash here alludes to the persecution he seems to have experienced, in consequence of having published that tract, which was treated as a piece of hypocrisy.

† The expedition to Cadiz, commanded by the Earls of Nottingham and Essex, sailed in the beginning of June, 1596. See Stow's Chronicle, p. 1283, edit. 1615.

‡ The words in italic are interlined in the original, and are exceedingly difficult to be decyphered: I know no such production.

§ Churchyard's 'Chippes contayning twelve severall labours,' were once very popular: they were printed in 1568, 1575, and 1578.

'price of a proclamation out of date, or, which is the 'contemptiblest summe that may be, (worse than a 'scute or a dandiprat) the price of all Harvey's works 'bound up together*. Only Mr. Harrington of late 'hath set up such a filthy stinking jakes in Pouls 'churchyard, that the stationers would give any money 'for a cover for it†: what shold move him to it I 'know not * * * O, it is detestable and abhominable, 'far worse then [Mu]ndays ballet of Untrusse‡, or 'Gillian of Braynfords will§ * * * able to make any 'man have a stinking breath that lookes in it, or the 'outside of it. Sure, had I beene of his consayle, he 'shold have sett for the mott, or word, before it Fah! 'and dedicated it to the house of the Shakerlie's|| * * * 'He will be coffined &c in a jakes farmer tunne, no

* He means the *value* by the price. Nash was not likely to hold Harvey's works in very high estimation after their late contest.

† Three editions of Sir J. Harington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax* were printed very soon after its first appearance, notwithstanding a licence for it had been refused. The bookseller, Richard Field, who printed the two first editions, probably had reason to repent it, and the third edition had no printer's, nor bookseller's, name attached to it. See the advertisement to the Reprint in 1814.

‡ The two first letters of Munday's name are worn away in the original. He was a noted ballad writer, as well as dramatist.

§ Nash seems fond of allusions to Gillian of Brentford's will. What he here says of it tallies exactly with his account of her legacy in his *Summers Last Will and Testament*, so that the omission here made may be easily supplied by the curious. *Vide* Dodsley's Old Plays, last edit. vol. ix. Nash also introduces her in his Epistle before R. Greene's *Menaphon*, 1587.

|| One member of this family seems referred to by Gabriel Harvey,

'other nose-wise Christian, for his horrible perfume,
'being able to come nere him. Well, some men for
'sorrow sing, as it is in the ballet of John Carelesse in
'the Booke of Martirs*, and I am merry now, though
'I have nere a penny in my purse. God may move
'you, though I say nothing; in which hope, that that
'which wilbe shalbe, I take my leave.

'Yours in acknowledgement
'of the deepest bond.'

Whether this appeal did, or did not, produce the effect for which it was made, we find Nash in May, 1597, writing for the Lord Admiral's players, then under Philip Henslowe, and producing for them a play called *The Isle of Dogs*, which is connected with an important circumstance in the history of the stage, *viz.*, the temporary silencing of that company, in consequence of the very piece of which Nash was the author. The following singular particulars are extracted from the Diary kept by Henslowe, and which is still, though in a very imperfect and mutilated state, preserved at Dulwich College. It is to be remarked, that Malone published none of them.

in his *Envoy* to his sonnet called 'Gorgon, or the Wonderful Year,' at the end of his 'New Letter of Notable Contents,' 1593:—

'The hugest miracles remain behind,
'The second Shakerley, rash-swash, to bind.'

* John Careless, a Coventry weaver, died in the King's Bench, on July 1st, 1556. In one of his letters preserved by Fox (*Martyrs*, III. 1743, Edit. 1610) he tells Philpot that he is 'singing psalms of praise 'and thanksgiving.' On p. 1753 are some verses which he wrote to his sister; but probably in the above passage Nash alludes to some 'ballad' current on the story of Careless.

'Pd 14 of May 1597, to Edw. Jube, upon a notte 'from Nashe, twentye shellinges more for the Iylle of 'Dogges, which he is wrytinge for the companey.

'Pd this 23 of August 1597, to Henerey Porter to 'cary to T. Nashe, nowe att this tyme in the flete for 'wrytinge of the Eylle of Dogges, ten shellinges, to 'be payde agen to me wen he cann. I saye ten 'shillinges.

'Pd to M. Blunsones, the M^r^ of the Revelles man, 'this 27 of August 1597, ten shellinges, for newes of 'the restraynt beyng recaled by the lordes of the 'Queenes Cownsell.'

Here we see, that in the spring of 1597, Nash was employed upon the play, and, like his brother dramatists of that day, who wrote for Henslowe's company, received money on account. *The Isle of Dogs* was produced prior to the 10th of August, 1597, because, in another memorandum by Henslowe, (which Malone has quoted, though with various omissions and mistakes*) he refers to the re-

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii., 322. Correctly it runs thus:—

'Mmdum. the 10 of August 1597, Wm. Borne came & ofered 'hime sealfe to come and play with my lord Admiralles men at my 'house, called by the name of the Rosse, sitewate one the Banck, after 'this order folowinge. He hath received of me iij^d^. upon and asumset 'to forfett unto me a hundreth marckes, of lafull money of England, 'yf he do not performe thes thinges folowing: that is, presentley after 'libertie beinge granted for playinge, to come and to playe with my 'lorde Admiralles men at my howsse aforsayd, and not in any other 'howsse publick abowt London, for the space of three yeares, begin-'ninge imediately after this restraynt is recaled by the lordes of the

straint at that date put upon the Lord Admiral's players. On the 23d of the same month, Nash was confined in the Fleet prison in consequence of his play, when Henry Porter, also a poet, carried him ten shillings from Henslowe, who took care to register that it was not a gift; and on the 27th of August, 'the restraint was recalled' by the Privy Council. We may conclude also, perhaps, that Nash was about the same time discharged from custody*.

In February, 1597-8, about six months before the death of Lord Burghley, are to be observed the first obvious indications of a disposition on the part of the government of Elizabeth permanently to restrain theatrical representations. At that date, licences had been granted to two companies of players only, those of the Lord Admiral and of the Lord Chamberlain, 'to use and practise stage playes' in order that they might be the better qualified to appear before the Queen. A third

'Counsell, which restraynt is by the meanes of playinge the Ieylle of 'Dooges. Yf he do not, then he forfetts this asumpset afore, or els not. Wittnes to this,

'E. Alleyn & Robsone.'

* It is with this imprisonment that Gabriel Harvey taunts Nash, in the tract called *The Trimming of Thomas Nash*, 1597, written in the name of Richard Litchfield, the barber. It contains a rude wood-cut of a man in fetters, and, together with many allusions to dogs, a paragraph beginning with these words: 'Since that thy Ile of Dogs hath made 'thee thus miserable, I cannot but account thee a dog, and chide and 'rate thee as a dog that hath done a fault,' &c. The Isle of Dogs seems at one time to have been a sort of refuge from creditors, and officers of justice. Nash's play was probably satirical, and therefore offensive.

company, not named, had however played 'by way of intrusion,' and the Privy Council, on the 19th February, 1597-8, sent orders to the Master of the Revels, and to the Justices of the Peace of Middlesex and Surrey, for its suppression*. It is very doubtful, however, whether any decisive measures were adopted in the matter, as in July following, a resolution was agreed to by the vestry of the parish of St. Saviour's Southwark, 'that a petition shall be made to the 'bodye of the Councell, concerning the play-houses in 'this parish; wherein the enormities shall be showed 'that comes thereby to the parish, and that in re-'spect thereof they may be dismissed, and put down

* The following is a copy of the entry in the Registers of the Privy Council, on 19th February, 1597-8:—

'A letter to the M^r of the Revells and Justices of Peace of Middlesex 'and Surrey.—Whereas Licence hath been graunted unto two com-'panies of Stage Players, retayned unto us, the Lord Admyrall and 'Lord Chamberlain, to use and practise Stage Playes, whereby they 'might be the better enhabled, and prepared to shew such plaies before 'her Majestie as they shalbe required at tymes meete and accustomed; 'to which ende they have bin chieflie licenced and tollerated as afore-'said: And whereas there is also a third Company, who of late (as we 'are informed) have by waie of intrusion used likewise to play, having 'neither prepared any plaie for her Majestie, nor are bound to you, the 'Master of the Revells, for perfourming such orders as have bin 'prescribed, and are enjoined to be observed by the other two Com-'panies before mencioned: Wee have therefore thought good to require 'you, upon receipt hereof, to take order, that the aforesaid third Com-'pany may be suppressed, and none suffered heereafter to plaie, but those 'two formerlie named belonging to us, the Lord Admyral and Lord 'Chamberlaine, unles you shall receave other directions from us. And 'so,' &c.

'from playing: and that four, or two, of the Church-'wardens, &c. shall present the cause, with a collector 'of the Boroughside, and another of the Bankside.' Of course, had there been at this date only two companies of players performing in Middlesex and Surrey, such a proceeding would not have been required. Neither did the presentation of this petition produce the consequence desired; for some time afterwards, the playhouses not having been 'put down,' the Churchwardens of St. Saviour's endeavoured to obtain tithes, and poor-rates, from the owners and managers of the theatres on the Bankside*. As late as 11th March, 1600-1, plays were represented at St. Paul's, at Blackfriars, and at other places 'within the city and the liberties,' for on that day an order was sent by the Privy Council to the Lord Mayor, that they might 'be suppressed during this time of Lent†.'

* Chalmers' Apology, p. 404. On the 28th of March, 1600, it was ordered 'that the Churchwardens shall talk with the players for tithes 'of their play-houses, and for the rest of the new tanne houses near 'thereabouts within the liberty of the Clinke, and for money for the 'poore, according to the order taken before my Lords of Canterbury 'and London & M$_r$ of the Revels.' *Parish Register of St. Saviours.*

† As early as 13th of March, 1578-9, the Privy Council required the Lord Mayor to suffer no plays to be acted within his jurisdiction during Lent, and until after Easter. Entries of the same kind are to be found dispersed over the Registers at various later dates.

ANNALS OF THE STAGE,

FROM THE YEAR 1599 TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

The building of the Fortune play-house in Golding-lane, which was undertaken in 1599 by the celebrated Edward Alleyn, in conjunction with Philip Henslowe, seems to have given fresh alarm to the enemies of theatrical performances, and fresh vigour to their representations against them. Complaints were exhibited upon the subject to the Privy Council, and the result was an order, which if it had been literally carried into execution, would have operated as a most severe restriction: it is one of the most important documents connected with the stage contained in the Council Registers, from which so many curious particulars have been gleaned. We have before seen, that the number of companies allowed to perform in Feb. 1597-8, were only two, and the order to which I am now referring limits the theatres to two also, *viz.* the Globe, on the Bankside, Surrey, and the Fortune in Golding-lane, Middlesex, then in a course of construction. The Globe was to be occupied by the players of the Lord Chamberlain, and the Fortune by those of the Lord Admiral, at the head of whom was Edward Alleyn: each was allowed to be open twice in the week, but not at all on Sundays, nor during Lent.

The document itself, the particular wording of which deserves attention, is inserted in a note below*.

* From the Council Register of 22d of June, 1600, quoted by Chalmers, *Apology*, p. 406.

'Whereas divers complaints have been heretofore made unto the 'Lords, and others of her Majesty's privy council, of the manifold 'abuses and disorders, that have grown and do continue by occasion of 'many houses, erected, and employed in, & about, the city of London, 'for common stage plays: and now very lately, by reason of some 'complaints exhibited by sundry persons against the building of the 'like house in or near Golding-lane, by one Edward Allen, a servant 'of the right honble the Lord Admiral, the matter as well in generalty 'touching all the said houses for stage plays, and the use of playing, 'as in particular concerning the said house now in hand to be built in 'or near Golding-lane, hath been brought into question and consulta-'tion among their Lordships. Forasmuch as it is manifestly known, 'and granted that the multitude of the said houses, and the misgo-'vernment of them hath been, and is daily occasion of the idle, 'riotous and dissolute living of great numbers of people, that leaving 'all such honest and painful course of life as they should follow, do meet 'and assemble there, and of many particular abuses and disorders that 'do thereupon ensue. And yet nevertheless it is considered, that the use 'and exercise of such plays (not being evil in itself) may, with a good 'order and moderation, be suffered in a well-governed state; and 'that her Majesty being pleased sometimes to take delight and recrea-'tion in the sight & hearing of them, some order is fit to be taken, for 'the allowance and maintenance of such persons, as are thought 'meetest in that kind to yield her Majesty recreation and delight, & 'consequently of the houses that must serve for public playing to 'keep them in exercise. To the end, therefore, that both the great 'abuses of the plays and playing-houses may be redressed, & yet the 'aforesaid use & moderation of them retained, the Lords and the 'rest of her Majesty's privy council, with one & full consent, have 'ordered in manner & form as followeth:—

'First: That there shall be about the city two houses, and no more, 'allowed to serve for the use of the common stage plays; of the

In May, 1601, the Lord Admiral's servants had quitted the Curtain theatre for the new house called the Fortune; but we find, notwithstanding, by a

'which houses, one shall be in Surrey, in that place which is commonly 'called *The Bankside*, or thereabouts, and the other in Middlesex. And 'for as much as their Lordships have been informed by Edmund 'Tilney, Esq. her Majesty's servant & Master of the Revels, that the 'house now in hand to be built by the said Edward Allen, is not 'intended to increase the number of the play-houses, but to be instead 'of another (namely the Curtain) which is either to be ruined, and 'plucked down, or to be put to some other good use, as also that the 'situation thereof is meet and convenient for that purpose; it is like-'wise ordered, that the said house of Allen shall be allowed to be 'one of the two houses, and namely for the house to be allowed 'in Middlesex for the company of players belonging to the Lord 'Admiral, so as the house called the Curtain be (as it is pretended) 'either ruinated or applied to some other good use. And for the 'other house to be allowed on the Surrey side, whereas their Lordships 'are pleased to permit, to the company of players, that shall play 'there, to make their own choice, which they will have, of divers 'houses that are there, choosing one of them and no more. And the 'said company of players, being the servants of the Lord Chamberlain 'that are to play there, have made choice of the house called *The Globe*; 'it is ordered that the said house, and none other, shall be there 'allowed: and especially it is forbidden, that any stage plays shall be 'played (as sometimes they have been) in any common inn for public 'assembly in, or near about the city.

'Secondly, Forasmuch as these stage plays, by the multitude of 'houses & company of players, have been so frequent, not serving for 'recreation, but inviting & calling the people daily from their trade & 'work to mispend their time; it is likewise ordered, that the two 'several companies of players assigned unto the two houses allowed, 'may play each of them in their several houses twice a week, & no 'oftener: and especially they shall refrain to play on the Sabbath day, 'upon pain of imprisonment & further penalty. And that they shall 'forbear altogether in the time of Lent, and likewise at such time and

letter addressed from the Privy Council to 'certain Justices of the Peace of the county of Middlesex,' dated on the 10th May, 1601, that the Curtain still continued open for the representation of plays, the Lords being ignorant by what company of actors it was occupied. We learn also from the same communication, that the actors had even ventured to bring upon the stage living characters, in consequence of which the Magistrates were directed to forbid their playing the objectionable piece, and, if necessary, to take bond of them to answer for their misconduct. Nothing is said, however, regarding the suppression of the company, though it belonged neither to the Lord Chamberlain, nor to the Lord Admiral *.

'times as any extraordinary sickness, or infection of disease, shall 'appear to be in or about the city.

'Thirdly. Because the orders will be of little force and effect, unless 'they be duly put in execution by those unto whom it appertaineth 'to see them executed; it is ordered, that several copies of these orders 'shall be sent to the Lord Mayor of London, and to the justices of the 'peace in the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, and that letters shall 'be written unto them from their Lordships, strictly charging them to 'see to the execution of the same, as well by committing to prison any 'owners of playhouses, and players, as shall disobey and resist these 'orders, as by any other good and lawful means, that in their discre-'tion they shall find expedient, and to certify their Lordships from 'time to time, as they shall see cause, of their proceedings herein.'

* The letter is in the following form :—

'10 May, 1601.

'We do understand, that certaine players, that use to recyte their 'playes at the Curtaine in Moorefields, do represent upon the stage in 'their interludes the persons of some gent. of good desert and quality,

Although the order of the Privy Council of the 22d June, 1600, was enclosed to the Lord Mayor and the Justices of Middlesex and Surrey, with directions that it should be enforced, it is singular, as far as we can now learn, that not a single step was taken to carry it into execution; as if, while the Court was disposed to restrain the immoderate use of plays, the Lord Mayor and his brethren, as well as the other magistrates, had entirely changed their sentiments, and now thought it a hardship upon the players, that the Privy Council should listen to the representations of the Puritans against them. The evil, such as it was, accordingly increased, 'in the multitude of play-'houses and stage-plays in and about the city of 'London.' This fact is asserted in two letters, of the same tenor, to the Justices of Middlesex and Surrey, dated 31st December, 1601, in which severe blame is

'that are yet alive, under obscure manner, but yet in such sorte as all 'the hearers may take notice both of the matter, and the persons that 'are meant thereby. This being a thing very unfitte, offensive, & 'contrary to such directions as have bin heretofore taken, that no 'playes should be openly shewed, but such as were first perused & 'allowed, & that might minister no occasion of offence or scandall, 'wee do hereby require you, that you do forthwith forbidd those 'players, to whomsoever they appertaine, that do play at the Courtaine 'in Moorefieldes, to represent any such play, & that you will examine 'them who made that play, & to shew the same unto you, and as you 'in your discretions shall thinke the same unfitte to be publiquely 'shewed to forbidd them from henceforth to play the same, eyther 'privately or publiquely. And if upon viewe of the said play, you 'shall find the subject so odious and inconvenient as is informed, we 'require you to take bond of the cheafest of them to aunswere their 'rashe & indiscreete dealing before us, &c.

cast upon them for their negligence, and in which they are called upon to summon before them the owners of playhouses, excepting the two that were licensed, (the Globe, and Fortune) and not to suffer them to perform in future*.

* The letter, as it appears in the Council Register of the 31st of December, 1601, runs thus.

'It is vaine for us to take knowledge of great abuses & disorders 'complaind of, and to give order for redresse, if our directions find no 'better execution & observation then it seemeth they do: and we must 'needes impute the fault & blame thereof to you, or some of you, the 'Justices of the Peace that are put in trust to see them executed & 'performed: whereof we may give you a plaine instance in the great 'abuse contynued, or rather encreased, in the multitude of Plaie 'houses, and Stage Plaies in & about the Cittie of London. For 'whereas about a year & a half since (upon knowledge taken of the 'great enormities, and disorders by the overmuch frequenting of 'Plaies) wee did carefullie set downe & prescribe an order to be observed 'concerninge the number of Playe Howses, & the use & exercise of 'Stage plaies, with lymytacions of tymes and places for the same '(namely that there should be but two howses allowed for that use, 'one in Middlesex called the Fortune, and one in Surrey called 'the Globe, and the same with observation of certaine daies and 'times, as in the said order is particularly expressed) in such sorte 'as a moderate practise of them for honest recreation might be con-'tynued, and yet the inordinate concourse of dissolute and idle 'people be restrayned: wee do now understande, that our said order 'hath bin so far from taking dew effect, as in steede of restraint and 'redresse of the former disorders, the multitude of play howses is much 'encreased, & that no daie passeth over without many Stage plaies in 'one place or other, within & about the Cittie publiquelie made. The 'default of perfourmance of which our said order we must, in great 'parte, the rather impute to the justices of the peace, because at the 'same tyme wee gave earnest directions unto you to see it streightly 'executed, and to certifie us of the execution; & yet wee have neither 'understoode of any redresse made by you, nor receaved any certificate

The Lord Mayor was written to on the same occasion, and he seems to have renewed his complaint against the number of players 'within and about the City of London' at the very moment when he ought to have been in possession of the authority of the Privy Council to suppress them. That authority had, however, been sent to his predecessor in office, who, unwilling that it should be enforced, had perhaps not handed it over to him*.

This endeavour on the part of the authorities of the state, not to suppress, but to limit and restrain the performance of plays, was the last act of the government of Elizabeth on the subject. We find nothing in the Privy Council Registers of the company specifically called 'the Queen's Players' after the 27th of February, 1592-3 †, and subsequent to that date, her Majesty was entertained at Christmas and Shrovetide,

'at all of your proceedings therein; which default or omission wee do 'now pray and require you forthwith to amende, & to cause our said 'former order to be put duly in execution; and especiallie to call before 'you the owners of all the other Play howses (excepting the two howses 'in Middlesex & Surrey aforementioned,) & to take good and sufficient 'bonds of them not to exercise, use, or practise, nor to suffer from hence 'forth to be exercised, used, or practised any Stage playinge in their 'howses; and if they shall refuse to enter into such bonds, then to com-'mit them to prison untill they shall conforme themselves. And so &c.'

* Chalmers (Apology, p. 410) found the letter of the Privy Council to the Lord Mayor, and accordingly inserted it; but he did not meet with that to the Justices of Middlesex and Surrey. They were of the same date.

† There can be little doubt that the company no longer existed as the 'Queens players,' and that they had changed their name to 'the Lord

chiefly by the Lord Chamberlain's players, (of whom we then hear for the first time,) and the Lord Admiral's servants; though the Earl of Pembroke's and the Earl of Derby's players were also called upon to assist in the festivities of Christmas 1592, Christmas 1593, and Shrovetide 1599. It appears from evidence contained in the Moral of *The Contention between Liberality and*

Chamberlain's servants;' but for what reason is nowhere mentioned. Among the curious matter in Henslowe's Diary from 1591 to 1608, not quoted nor referred to by Malone, is an entry, shewing that before May, 1593, the Queen's players had '*broke*, and went into the country,' when they were joined by Francis Henslowe, a player, and some relation, perhaps son, to old Philip Henslowe. The following is the memorandum relating to this fact:—

'Lent unto Francis Henslow, the 3 of May 1593, to laye downe for 'his share to the Quenes Players, when they broke & went into the 'contrey to playe, the some of fyften pownd, to be payd unto me at 'his retorne out of the contrey—I saye lent. Wittnes,

'John Towne,
'Hew Daves,
'Richard Alleyn.'

Two years afterwards Francis Henslowe joined a company not named, when Philip Henslowe lent him 9*l.* to pay for half a share. It is difficult to explain in what way Francis Henslowe could have lent money to Lord Burghley, as is asserted in the same entry, which runs thus:—

'Lent unto Francis Henslow, the 1 of June 1595, in redey mony to 'laye downe for his halfe share with the company which he dothe 'playe with all, to be payd unto me when he doth receive his mony w^ch 'he lent to my lord Burle, or when my asyenes [assigns] doth demand 'yt. Wittnes,

'Wm. Smyght, player,
'Gorge Attewell, player,
'Robard Nycowlles, player.'

Prodigality (printed in 1602), that it had been performed before the Queen in 1600*. It was possibly one of the 'three interludes' represented by the servants of the Lord Chamberlain at Christmas 1600, for which John Hemings, who was at the head of the company, received 30*l.* on the 11th of March, 1600-1. At Christmas, of the following year, she was entertained by the Lord Admiral's players†, for, in Henslowe's Diary, I find the subsequent entry, among many others passed over by Malone.

'Rec. of M. E. Alleyn, the 4 of Maye 1601, the 'somme of twenty eight pounds & ten shellings, which 'he received at the Corte for ther Cort money for 'playinge ther at Cryssmas, which was dewe unto the 'earlle of Notinghames players, 28*l.* 10*s.*'

By another item, it appears, that a person, called Nycke, had 'tumbled before the Queen' on the same occasion, and 14*s.* are charged for his silk hose. From other entries in the same book, it is clear, that the services of the same company were required at Christ-

* It is stated on the title-page that it was 'played before her Majesty;' and in the body of the performance mention is made of the forty-third year of her reign. It was, probably, an older piece revived and altered; perhaps by R. Greene, as is asserted in Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1675. A play, called 'Prodigality,' was, as has been shown, represented before the Queen in 1568.

† According to Henslowe, in his diary, under date of the year 1597, the following were then the players forming the company acting under the name of the Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral:—Borne (alias Bird), Gabriel, Slater (or Slaughter), Jones, Downton (usually written Dowton), Juby, Towne, Synger, and the two Jeffes.

mas, in the ensuing year. On the 14th of December, 1602, Henslowe paid 5*s.* to a poet, who is not named, for writing a prologue and epilogue to 'the play of Bacon' (no doubt Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bongay*, first printed in 1594), 'for the court;' and on the 29th of December, of the same year, Henry Chettle obtained the like sum for a prologue and epilogue to another play 'at the court,' the title of which is not inserted: from the circumstance of a new prologue and epilogue being wanted, we may conclude that, like '*Bacon*,' it was a revival.

A Mask was also exhibited at court in 1602, in all probability at Christmas, and it is noticed in a very valuable and remarkable source of information applicable to the last two years of the reign of Elizabeth. I was fortunate enough to meet with it among the Harleian MSS. in the Museum, and it is in the shape of a Table-book, or Diary, kept by an individual whose name is nowhere given, but who seems to have been a barrister, and consequently a member of one of the Inns of Court*. The dates, which are inserted with much particularity, extend from January 1600-1, to

* He lived at one time in Chambers with Ed. Curle, whose call to the bar he notices, and from whom he heard many of the anecdotes, &c. he inserts in his diary. For others he cites the authority of Sir Thomas Overbury, who, on leaving college after 1598, became a student of the Middle Temple, to which Society it is probable that the author of this diary belonged. He had relations in Kent, whom he often went to visit, a cousin named Cranmer at Canterbury, a cousin named Watts at Sandwich, and a third cousin named Chapman at Godmersham. Another of his relations was named Norton. A surgeon at Maidstone was also related to him.

April, 1603, and when I state that it includes original and unpublished anecdotes of Shakespeare, Spenser, Tarleton, Ben Jonson, Marston, Sir John Davies, Sir W. Raleigh and others, it will not be disputed that it is, what I have termed it, a very valuable and remarkable source of information. Some of the particulars it supplies, it is true, are in themselves comparatively trifling, but, as has been often said, trifles become important when connected with the lives of distinguished men. The size is small octavo, or duodecimo, and, excepting by the maker of the Catalogue of the Harleian MSS. (where it is numbered 5353), it seems to have remained in that collection entirely unexamined. It is written in a small, fair, and tolerably legible hand.

A 'song to the Queene in a Maske at Court, 1602,' is the first entry in this Diary, and it is inserted on the fly-leaf in the following words :—

'Mighty Princes of a fruitfull land,
'In whose riche bosome stored bee
'Wisdome and care, treasures that free
'Us from all feare: Thus with a bounteous hand
'You serve the world w^ch^ yett you doe commaund.

'Most gracious Queene, we tender back
'Our lives as tributes due,
'Since all whereof we all partake
'We freely take from you.

'Blessed Goddess of our hopes increase,
'Att whose fayre right hand
'Attend justice and grace,
'Both which commend
'True beauties face!
'Thus doe you never cease
'To make the death of war the rise of peace.
'Victorious Queene, soe shall you live
'Till tyme it selfe must dye;
'Since no tyme ever can deprive
'You of such memory.'

No name is appended to this song, and it would be idle to indulge in conjectures regarding its authorship: the Mask in which it was inserted was probably exhibited at Christmas, for Queen Elizabeth died on the last day but one of 1602, as the year was then calculated, or on the 24th of March, 1603, as it is now reckoned. She continued to visit her nobility up to a very late period, and, according to a letter from John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carlton*, dated December 6th, 1602, she was to have been present at the warming of Sir Robert Cecill's new house in the Strand, but that she was prevented on the Monday by the cold, and on the Wednesday, which was subsequently appointed, by 'the foul weather.' On the day when his letter bears date she did, however, fulfil her engagement, and Chamberlain adds that 'a great variety of entertainment was prepared for her, rich jewels, and presents.'

* Printed in Nichols's Progr. of Eliz., vol. ii.

The Barrister's Diary furnishes us, not only with the informa[illegible] that the Queen was at Sir Robert Cecill's on Monday, 6th of December, but with an account of her entertainment there on the occasion: he does not give the day of the month in the following quotation, but that we have already ascertained from the letter of John Chamberlain.

'December 1602.

'On munday last the Queen dyned at Sir Robert 'Cecils newe house in the Strand*: shee was very 'royally entertained, and richely presented, and was 'marvelous well contented; but at hir departure she 'strayned her foote. His hall was well furnished with 'choise weapons, which her M^tie tooke especiall notice 'of. Sundry devises at hir entrance: three women, 'a maid a widow and a wife eache contending [for] 'their owne states, but the virgin preferred: an other; 'on [one] attired in habit of a Turke, desyrous to see 'hir, enterd; but as a stranger without hope of such 'grace, in regard of the retired manner of hir cort— 'complained—answere made and sone gracious, her 'Ma^tie in admitting to presence, and sone able to dis-

* A biting jest by Richard Tarlton, the player, relative to old Burghley House in the Strand as it was kept in the time of the old Lord Treasurer, is told in this very MS. in these words:—

'Tarlton called Burley-house gate, in the Strand towards the Savoy, 'the Lord Treasurers almes-gate, because it was seldom or never 'opened.'

Tarlton died in 1588: the date appended to this jest is Jan. 26, 1602, being that when the writer of the journal, perhaps, heard it first.

'course in anie language, which the Turke admired; 'and admitted, presents hir with a riche mantle,' &c.

The 'rich mantle' was one of the 'presents' prepared for the Queen, according to Chamberlain's letter. The entry in the Diary is not by any means clearly worded, and it was probably hastily made: the meaning of it is, that the Turk on entering feared that, as a stranger, he should not be admitted to the Queen's presence: an answer to the contrary being made, her Majesty was soon gracious, and soon able to discourse in any language, a facility which the Turk admired, and presented the Queen with the gift with which he had been provided. The whole seems to have been a silly piece of masquerading to gratify the vanity of Elizabeth. The first part of the preceding quotation relates to a dramatic dialogue or contest between a maid, a widow, and a wife*, which ended,

* In some respects, perhaps, similar to the poetical tract, *Tis merry when Gossips meet*, attributed, no doubt correctly, to Samuel Rowlands: this is a dialogue between a Maid, a Widow and a Wife, at a tavern; but the conclusion does not accord with the result mentioned by the writer of the Diary. It was printed in 1602 and 1609; and it is singular that in another part of his Table-book the writer inserts various quotations from this very piece, most of which correspond with the printed copy: there are, however, three extracts at the beginning, which are not found in the printed copy, and which possibly belonged to some introduction now lost: it appears in the Diary in this shape:—

'Oct. 1602.

'Out of a poeme called, *It is merry when Gossips meete.*—S. R.

'Such a one is clarret proofe; *i.e.* a good wine-bibber.

'Theres many deale upon the score for wyne,
'When they should pay forgett the vintner's signe,

out of compliment to the Queen, in the admission of the superiority of the condition of a virgin.

We also learn from the same contemporaneous authority, that in the summer of 1601 the Queen was at an entertainment given by the Lord Keeper, and that before she arrived at the mansion, she was entertained by a dialogue 'betweene the Bayly and a Dary-mayd.' The following is the only extract supplied, and it was supposed to be spoken by the Bailiff of the Lord Keeper:—'The M^rs^ of this fayre com-'panie, though shee knowe the way to all mens 'hearts, yet shee knowes the way to few mens houses, 'except she love them verry well.' A part of the entertainments on the same occasion was drawing lots, or what the writer of the Diary calls 'Lotteries,' each lady having some object with a motto assigned to her, as it were by chance, but no doubt a little contrivance was sometimes used, in order that the lot might be appropriate. For instance, on this occasion, the Queen drew 'Fortunes wheels,' the motto being this:—

'Fortune must nowe noe more in triumphe ride;
'The wheeles are yours that did hir chariot guide.'

In the same way to the Countess of Kildare, one of

'*Of Dido and Æneas.*
'She plyd him with the wyne in golden cup,
'Turning the liquor in, the bottom up.'

Nine other quotations are given, but they need not be extracted, as they agree with the printed editions. It is material to observe, that they have no initials to indicate authorship, whereas in the Diary the letters S. R. would confirm the opinion, that the tract was written by Samuel Rowlands. In Nichols's Progr. of Eliz. iii. 601, it is said, on

the Queen's attendants, was given 'a girdle,' with the following lines:—

'With Fortune's girdle happy may you bee;
'But they that are lesse happy are more free.'

Many others are inserted in the Diary, to Lady Scroop, Lady Scudamore, Lady Effingham, Lady Newton, &c.; but the point the lines contain is now lost. The whole collection is thus entitled:—'Some 'of the Lotteries which were the last summer at her 'Majestie being with the L. Keeper*.'

No theatre is named throughout the manuscript, but the subsequent paragraph, under the date of Feb. 7th, 1602, relates to a tragical occurrence that had taken place at one of them on the Bank-side; probably the Hope, Rose or Swan, which were all situated there, as well as the Globe, which last does not seem to have been used for the exhibitions of fencers: at the others it was not uncommon for them to give their challenges, and play their prizes.

'Turner and Dun, two famous fencers, playd their 'prizes this day at the Banke side: but Turner at 'last ran Dun so farre in the brayne at the eye, that 'he fell downe presently stone deade. A goodly 'sport in a Christian state to see one man kill another.'

I have reserved until last the matter in this curious

the authority of John Chamberlain, that the Dialogue before the Queen, on the 6th of December, was by Sir John Davies.

* The Lotteries, with an introduction, are printed in Davidson's *Poetical Rhapsody*, and from thence quoted by Mr. Nichols in vol. iii. p. 571, of his Progr. of Eliz. The whole Dialogue between the Bailiff and the Dairymaid may be found in the same work, iii. p. 586.

volume that is personal, although, in point of actual interest, it claims a decided precedence.

First with regard to Shakespeare. The period when he wrote his *Twelfth Night, or What you Will*, has been much disputed among the commentators. Tyrwhitt was inclined to fix it in 1614, and Malone for some years was of the same opinion; but he afterwards changed the date he had adopted to 1607*. Chalmers thought he found circumstances in the play to justify him in naming 1613†, but what I am about to quote affords a striking, and at the same time a rarely occurring, and convincing proof, how little these conjectures merit confidence. That comedy was indisputably written before 1602, for in February of that year it was an established play, and so much liked, that it was chosen for performance at the Reader's Feast on Candlemas day, at the Inn of Court to which the author of this Diary belonged—most likely the Middle Temple, which at that date was famous for its costly entertainments. After reading the following quotation, it is utterly impossible, although the name of the poet be not mentioned, to feel a moment's doubt as to the identity of the play there described, and the production of Shakespeare.

'Feb. 2, 1601[-2].

'At our feast we had a play called *Twelve night or* 'what you will, much like the comedy of errors, or 'Menechmi in Plautus, but most like & neere to that 'in Italian called Inganni. A good practise in it to

* Shakespeare by Boswell, ii. 441.

† Supplemental Apology, p. 441.

'make the steward believe his lady widdowe was in 'love with him, by counterfayting a letter, as from his 'lady, in generall termes telling him what shee liked 'best in him, & prescribing his gestures, inscribing 'his apparaile, &c. and then when he came to practise, 'making him beleeve they tooke him to be mad.'

At this date, we may conclude with tolerable safety that Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* had been recently brought out at the Black-friars Theatre, and that its excellence and success had induced the managers of the Reader's Feast to select it for performance, as part of the entertainments on that occasion. There is no reason to suppose that any of Shakespeare's productions were represented for the first time any where but at a theatre. The *Comedy of Errors* noticed in the preceding extract, was no doubt also Shakespeare's work mentioned by Meres* in 1598, and not the old *History of Error* performed at Hampton Court in 1576-7. The *Menechmi*, likewise spoken of, was of course the play of Plautus, as translated by W. W., and printed in 1595. Should the Italian comedy, called *Inganni*, turn up, we shall probably find in it the actual original of *Twelfth Night*, which, it has been hitherto supposed, was founded upon the story of *Apollonius and Silla* in Barnabe Rich's *Farewell to Militarie Profession*, twice printed, *viz.* in 1583 and 1606. It is remarkable, that this is the only notice of a play throughout the diary; and although the author of it went much into company, he does not appear on any

* *Palladis Tamia. Wits Treasury*, 1598, fol. 282.

occasion to have visited a public theatre. He was very regular in his attendance at Church, both at the Temple and St. Paul's, and inserts long accounts of the preachers and their sermons.

On looking back to the life of Shakespeare, the first observation that must be made is, that so few *facts* are extant regarding him: nearly everything interesting is derived from tradition, or depends upon conjecture; and Steevens, in a note upon Shakespeare's 93rd sonnet, very truly remarks, 'all that is known with any 'degree of certainty concerning Shakespeare is—that 'he was born at Stratford-upon-Avon—married and 'had children there—went to London, where he com- 'menced actor, and wrote poems and plays—returned 'to Stratford, made his will, died and was buried.' There is, however, in the manuscript Diary under consideration a personal anecdote regarding our great dramatist, which possibly may serve to explain a good deal that has been considered obscure in his Sonnets. Much has been said at different times on the moral character of Shakespeare, as if in this respect he were far superior to the manners of the time in which he lived; and Boswell, in the last edition of his works*, expressly observes, 'We may lament that we know 'so little of his history; but this, at least, may be 'asserted with confidence, that at no time was the 'slightest imputation cast upon his moral character.' This statement has reference to such of Shakespeare's sonnets as, taken literally, and, as I apprehend, not a few of them ought to be taken, indicate that Shake-

* Shakespeare by Boswell, xx., 220.

speare was not in this respect more pure and perfect than most of his contemporaries. I think it extremely probable that some of those sonnets were composed for other people, who could not write them for themselves, and who wished to make a favourable impression; but others, undoubtedly, have a personal allusion to himself, and the difficulty is how to separate the one from the other. If we may believe the plain import of his 69th sonnet, in particular, he was at one period in love with a female who was not very chary of her reputation:

> 'But why thy odour matcheth not thy show
> 'The solve is this—that thou dost common grow;'

and he over and over again laments the disgrace brought upon himself by his misconduct: in his 112th sonnet he says,

> 'Your love and pity doth the impression fill,
> 'Which vulgar scandal stamped upon my brow.'

Again, in his 121st sonnet, beginning 'Tis better to be vile, than vile esteemed,' he exclaims,

> 'No—I am that I am; and they that level
> 'At my abuses reckon up their own;'

while, in his 131st sonnet, he tells the female, on account of whom he had been attacked,

> 'In nothing art thou black, save in thy deeds;
> 'And thence this slander, as I think, proceeds:'

so that although it may be very true, that no imputation upon his moral character had been discovered

from extraneous sources, when Steevens, or when Boswell wrote, yet, if we are to believe himself, although a married man, with a wife and family at Stratford, he was not immaculate. The difficulty of reconciling much that is contained in the sonnets has arisen from an amiable desire to think Shakespeare's moral and poetical character equally perfect. If, in the course of my inquiries, I have been unlucky enough (I may perhaps say) to find anything which represents our great dramatist in a less favourable light, as a human being with human infirmities, I may lament it, but I do not therefore feel myself at liberty to conceal and suppress the fact.

Whether the anecdote in question be true, or untrue, whether it were a mere joke, or the invention of 'vulgar scandal,' it comes recommended to our notice upon tolerably good authority. Nicholas Tooley was one of the actors in Shakespeare's plays, and belonged to the company of the Globe theatre in 1596; and it is very possible that the author of this Diary had met with him at some ordinary in London, and had heard from him the story in question, as we find the words 'Mr. Tooley' subjoined at the end of it, as the person from whom the writer had received it. It is inserted, without any observation regarding its truth or falsehood, in the following manner:—

'March 13, 1601.

'Upon a tyme when Burbidge played Rich. 3, 'there was a citizen grewe so farre in liking with him, 'that before shee went from the play shee appointed 'him to come that night unto hir, by the name of

'Rich. the 3. Shakespeare, overhearing their conclu-
'sion, went before, was entertained, and at his game
'ere Burbidge came. Then, message being brought
'that Rich. the 3 was at the dore, Shakespeare caused
'returne to be made, that William the Conqueror was
'before Rich. the 3.—Shakespeares name Willm.—
'Mr. Tooly.'

This may have been (as I have said) a mere slanderous invention, a harmless joke, or a plain truth; and it is not to be forgotten, in reference to the value of Tooley's authority, that he had been the apprentice of Richard Burbadge, and might have had the story from that distinguished performer, who was himself a party in it. In March, 1601, Shakespeare was just commencing his 37th year, and how long before that date the circumstance had occurred is not mentioned; but Burbadge was the original Richard III., and that play was printed in 1597, and probably acted several years before*.

* The year 1597 has been assigned as the date when Shakespeare made his purchase of New Place, in Stratford-upon-Avon (V. Drake's *Shakespeare and his Times*, ii. 584), but I cannot help thinking that this event in his life is fixed too early. He certainly did not buy the 107 acres of land, attached to the house called New Place, until May, 1602, when he had become easy in his circumstances. In a very rare tract, (the only copy of which is in the Collection of Earl Spencer,) called '*Ratseis Ghost, or the Second Part of his Madde Prankes and Robberies*,' printed without date, but prior, as is supposed, to 1606, occurs a passage which mentions Shakespeare's Hamlet by name, and, if I mistake not, refers covertly to the author, to his acquisition of property, and, finally, to the purchase of the house and land in his native town. Gamaliel Ratsey was a highwayman, who had presented certain strolling players with 40*s.* for acting before him, and afterwards

Ben Jonson* is only once mentioned in the same Diary, but the date and circumstances are both remarkable. It is known that he wrote nothing between

overtook them on their road, and robbed them of it. He gives them advice, and thus addresses himself to the principal performer:—

'And for you, sirrah, (says he to the chiefest of them,) thou hast a 'good presence upon a stage, methinks thou darkenst thy merit by 'playing in the country: get thee to London, for if one man were dead, 'they will have much need of such as thou art. There would be none, 'in my opinion, fitter than thyself to play his parts: my conceit is 'such of thee, that I durst all the money in my purse on thy head to 'play Hamlet with him for a wager. There thou shalt learne to be 'frugal (for players were never so thrifty as they are now about Lon-'don), and to feed upon all men; to let none feed upon thee; to make 'thy hand a stranger to thy pocket, thy heart slow to perform thy 'tongue's promise; and when thou feelest thy purse well lined, buy 'thee some place of lordship in the country, that, growing weary of 'playing, thy money may there bring thee to dignity and reputation: 'then thou needest care for no man; no, not for them that before made 'thee proud with speaking their words on the stage. Sir, I thank 'you (quoth the player) for this good council: I promise you I will 'make use of it, for I have heard, indeed, of some that have gone to 'London very meanly, and have come in time to be exceeding 'wealthy.'

* It is a fact, not known to Malone and Gifford, that Ben Jonson was at first a sharer in the theatrical speculation of Henslowe, for whom he wrote his *Every Man in his Humour*, &c. This circumstance is stated in an entry in Henslowe's Diary, which escaped Malone, in these terms:—

'R. [Received] of Bengemenes Johnsones shayer as foloweth, 1597.'

The only item entered under this head is 3*s.* 9*d.* received by Henslowe on the 8th of July, 1597. After this date, Ben Jonson was usually in debt to Henslowe for advances on plays, written and to be written, so that the old manager does not seem to have followed up this account of receipts.

his *Poetaster* in 1601, and his *Sejanus* in 1603; and in the interval, Dekker produced his *Satiromastix*, in ridicule of Ben Jonson, and, as far as we can now judge, it was popular. Ben Jonson, therefore, seems in consequence to have withdrawn himself temporarily from the theatre, between 1601, when his 'comic muse had proved so ominous' to him, and 1603, when he tried 'if tragedy had a more kind aspect.' The following short paragraph accounts for him in the interval.

'February 12, 1602.

'Ben Johnson, the poet, nowe lives upon one 'Townesend & scornes the world. So Overbury.'

Townesend was, probably, some person who admired Jonson's genius, and thought that justice was not done to him by the public*. The meaning of the addition, 'So Overbury,' is evidently, that Sir Thomas Overbury, then a student of the Middle Temple, was the narrator of the fact.

John Marston was an author of Satires in 1598; and his play of *Antonio and Mellida* was printed in the year in which he is noticed in the Barrister's Diary. His *Malecontent* had, however, been written more than two years earlier, and he seems to have attracted a good deal of attention†. The subsequent paragraph is very characteristic of his coarseness.

* A person of the name of Aurelian Townsend was author of two Masks, both performed at court, and printed in 1631: the one was called 'Albion's Triumph,' and the other, 'Tempe Restored.' He was, possibly, the same individual mentioned in the text.

† The *Malecontent* was acted by 'the King's Majesty's Servants,'

'November 21, 1602.

'Jo. Marstone, the last Christmas, when he daunct 'with Alderman Mores wives daughter, a Spaniard 'borne, fell into a strange commendation of hir witt 'and beauty. When he had done, she thought to 'pay him home, & told him, she thought he was a 'poet. 'Tis true, said he—for poets feigne and lye; 'and soe did I, when I commended your beauty, for 'you are exceeding foule.'

No other dramatic poets, or circumstances connected with the drama, are mentioned in this very curious collection of scraps: some matters that relate to other poets, I have subjoined in a note*.

that is, the company playing at the Globe and Blackfriars, to which Shakespeare belonged; but, from a singular item in Henslowe's Diary, not noticed nor quoted by Malone, it is evident that Marston, when he first commenced dramatist, had engaged to write for Henslowe's company, for which Ben Jonson, Drayton, Dekker, Heywood, and many others wrote. It is in these terms,

'Lent unto Wm. Borne, the 28 of September, 1599, to lend unto 'Mr. Maxton, the new poete [Mr. Marstone] in earnest of a booke 'called the some of 40s.'

The name *Mr. Marstone*, between brackets, was apparently interlined afterwards, when the old manager was better informed, that the name was not *Maxton*, as he had first written it. The title of the play was left blank, but it was very possibly the *Malecontent*, which bears internal evidence of having been composed prior to the year 1600.

* The following anecdote respecting Spenser has never before been told on such good authority, although it has been long known by tradition. It is disbelieved by Mr. Todd in his Spenser, i., lxvij., edit. 1805.

'May 4, 1602.

'When her Majestie had given order, that Spenser should have a

The detail of facts and circumstances connected with the Stage is thus brought down to the close of the reign of Elizabeth*; but in order to render the

'reward for his poems, but Spenser could have nothing, he presented 'her with these verses:—

'It pleased your Grace upon a tyme,
'To graunt me reason for my ryme;
'But from that tyme until this season,
'I heard of neither ryme nor reason.'

The barrister's informant, in this instance, was a person of the name of Touse, to whom he often refers as his voucher.

An epitaph upon Spenser is thus given:—

'*In Spenserum.*

'Famous alive, & dead, here is the ods,
'Then god of Poets, nowe poet of the gods.'

The following does more credit to his adversary, than to Sir W. Raleigh, but not much to either:—

'Dec. 30, 1602.

'Sir W Rawly made this rime upon the name of a gallant, one 'Mr. Noel:—

'Noe L.

'The word of deniall, & the letter of fifty
'Makes the gent's name, that will never be thrifty.'

'And Noel's answere.

'Raw Ly.

'The foe to the stomacke, & the word of disgrace
'Shews the gent's name with the bold face.'

There are several very coarse anecdotes regarding Sir John Davies: the following may be quoted:—

'April 10, 1603.

'Io Davis reporteth that he is sworne the king's man, that the K. 'showed him great favours: *inepte*, he slaunders while he prayses.'

* Regarding the death of Queen Elizabeth the subsequent particulars, derived, as will be seen, from the most authentic sources, are contained in the MS. Diary to which I have been already so much indebted. The short concluding paragraph, regarding the ring and Lord Essex, is peculiarly worthy of notice:—

account of its actual condition at that period more complete and clear, it may be necessary briefly to notice the different theatres in use in the metropolis at her decease: a statement of the origin and progress of each is given in a subsequent part of this work.

'March 23. I was at the Court at Richmond to heare Dr. Parry, 'one of her Majesties Chaplens preache, and be assured whether the 'Queene were living or dead. I heard him, and was assured shee was 'then living. * * * These were present at his sermon. The Arch-'bishop of Cant. the L. Keep. the L. Treasuror, L. Admirall, L. of 'Shrewsbury, E. of Worster, L. Cobham, L. Gray, Sir Willm. Knollys, 'Sir Ed. Wotton, &c.

'I dyned with Dr. Parry in the privy chamber, and understood by 'him, the Bishop of Chichester, the Deane of Canterbury, the Deane 'of Windsore, &c. that hir Majestie hath bin by fits troubled with 'melancholy some 3 or 4 moneths; but for this fortnight extreame 'oppressed with it, in soe much that she refused to eate any thing, to 'receive any phisicke, or admit any rest in bedd, till within these 2 or '3 dayes. Shee hath bin in a manner speachlesse for 2 dayes: very 'pensive and silent since shrovetides, sitting sometymes with her eye 'fixed upon one object many houres togither; yet she alwayes had 'her perfect senses and memory, & yesterday signified by the lifting 'up of her hand & eyes to heven, a signe which Dr. Parry entreated 'of hir, that shee beleeved that fayth which she hath caused to be 'professed, and looked faythfully to be saved by Christs merits and 'mercy onely, and no other meanes. She tooke great delight in hearing 'prayers, would often at the name of Jesus lift up hir hands & eyes to 'heaven. Shee would not heare the Archb. speake of hope of hir 'longer lyfe, but when he prayed, or spake of heaven and those joyes, 'shee would hug his hand, &c. It seemes she might have lived yf 'shee would have used meanes, but shee would not be persuaded, and 'princes must not be forced. Hir physicians sayd she had a body of 'a firme & perfect constitution likely to have lived many yeares: a 'royal majesty is not priviledge against death.

'March 24. This morning about 3 at clocke her Majestie departed

The earliest performances in London, after the disuse of Miracle-plays and the decline of Morals, took place upon 'scaffolds, frames and stages,' erected in the yards of 'great inns.' The Orders of the Corporation of 1575, from which I quote, were directed against such exhibitions, mainly on the ground, that chambers, adjoining the galleries that surrounded the inn-yards, were made the scenes of great immorality. Those Orders contain nothing regarding any buildings appropriated to theatrical representations, because such as then existed were not within the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen: the inn-yards, to which their objections are confined, were within the limits of the city. We have seen that, in 1557, the Boar's Head, Aldgate, was used for the purpose of representing a piece called *A Sack full of News*, and Stephen Gosson*, in his *School of Abuse*, 1579, mentions the Bell-savage on Ludgate-hill, and the Bull, as inns at which dramatic performances took place.

'this lyfe, mildly like a lambe, easely like a ripe apple from the tree; 'cum levi quadam febre, absq. gemitu. Dr. Parry told me, that he was 'present, & sent his prayers before hir soule; & I doubt not but shee is 'amongst the royall saints in heaven in eternall joyes.

'April 4. Dr. Parry told me the Countess Kildare assured him, that 'the Queene caused the ring, wherewith shee was wedded to the crowne, 'to be cutt from her finger some six weekes before hir death; but 'wore a ring, which the E. of Essex gave her, unto the day of hir 'death.'

* After renouncing, and denouncing the Stage in 1579, Stephen Gosson went into the Church, and died Rector of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, in 1623. In 1598 he published 'The Trumpet of Warre, a Sermon preached on the 7th May 1598.' It was sold among Foster's books in 1806.

Malone quotes the same author's *Playes confuted in five Actions*, to shew that 'about the year 1570 one or two regular play-houses were erected*;' but that tract was not printed until full ten years afterwards, and it serves to fix no date. Although Malone was not aware of the existence of any earlier authority on the point, he was probably right in his conjecture. In 1575, at least, there must have been several 'regular playhouses,' not indeed in London, but in its immediate vicinity. In that year, it has been shown, that the Queen's Players presented a petition to the Privy Council, praying authority to perform within the city, 'the season of the year being past to play *at any of the houses* without the city.' The season for performing in the suburbs was the summer, when people could walk out to the play, or go thither in boats, and in the winter the actors were anxious to be allowed to exhibit within the walls.

The Queen's players inform us, that there were 'houses' for the purpose, but they mention none of them: we first learn the names of two from John Northbrooke's *Treatise, wherein Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine Playes or Enterluds, &c. are reproved*, which was licensed, and therefore ready for the press in 1577. They are there called 'the Theatre' and 'the Curtaine;' and that they were both situated near each other in Shoreditch, we know from the first edition of Stow's Survey, 1599, although Malone, Chalmers and

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 46.

others, from consulting only later impressions, have confounded 'the Theatre' with the play-house in Blackfriars. Recorder Fleetwood, fifteen years before Stow's Survey was published, in a letter to Lord Burghley (cited in the preceding Annals of the Stage, under the transactions of 1584), also speaks of a circumstance that had occurred 'very near the Theatre or Curtain,' as if they were contiguous. 'The Theatre' was called so emphatically, as a place devoted to the exhibition of dramatic representations; and 'the Curtain' was so named, probably, on account of the sign there hung out, indicative of the nature of the performances within.

The Blackfriars Theatre was erected in 1576, by James Burbadge and others, who had obtained the patent for playing in 1574. They commenced this undertaking in the liberties, in consequence of the Orders of the Lord Mayor and Common Council of the city in 1575, excluding players from all places within their jurisdiction. It is not mentioned by John Northbrooke, either because it was not finished when he wrote, or because it was a private house, and not so liable to objection as the two theatres he names. Stephen Gosson speaks of the Blackfriars in his *Playes confuted in five Actions*, printed about 1581. It continued in its original state until 1596, when it was in the hands of Richard Burbadge, Shakespeare, and others, and when it was enlarged and repaired, if not entirely rebuilt.

A theatre also existed at an early date in the liberty

of the Whitefriars, and perhaps it owed its origin to the same cause as the Blackfriars, although we have no trace of it at that period. Malone cites Richard Reulidge's *Monster lately found out and discovered*, printed in 1628, to show that the Whitefriars theatre was in being in 1580, but that author speaks very loosely and uncertainly on the point. The probability is, that it was built in 1576.

Paris Garden was used for the baiting of bears, and other animals, in the reign of Henry VIII., but we can only conjecture as to the date when it began to be employed also as a building for the exhibition of plays. Thomas Nash in his *Strange Newes*, &c. printed in 1592, mentions the performance of puppets there; and Dekker, in his *Satiromastix*, 1602, asserts that Ben Jonson had acted there.

As early as 1586, there was a playhouse at Newington Butts, for the amusement of the citizens who went thither in the summer; and we find from Henslowe's papers, that many popular plays were represented at that theatre in 1594.

The Rose theatre on the Bankside, not far west of the foot of London Bridge, was probably constructed prior to 1587. It was repaired extensively by Philip Henslowe in 1591, and was in the possession of the Lord Admiral's company of players in 1593.

The Hope theatre, near the same situation, was possibly constructed about the same time, but the information regarding it is still more scanty and inconclusive.

The Globe on the Bankside, which also belonged to the Blackfriars' Company (the first being used as their summer, and the last as their winter house), was built in 1594: at least, we may pretty safely infer that such was the date of its origin, by the discovery of a bond, dated 22nd of December, 1593, given by Richard Burbadge, for the due performance of covenants, on his part, connected with its construction. Here, and at the Blackfriars Theatre, all Shakespeare's plays were first performed.

It seems probable, that the Swan was not built until after the Globe: theatrical representations took place there in 1598.

The last theatre erected while Elizabeth was upon the throne was the Fortune in Golding-Lane, Whitecross-Street. It was projected by Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn in 1599, and it was finished before the close of the year 1600.

The foundation of these theatres can be certainly traced prior to the year 1600; and we hear of others early in the reign of James I., which, possibly, were erected before the demise of Elizabeth, although we are without any conclusive evidence upon the point. The children of St. Paul's also, at an early date, acted plays in the room appropriated to their education; but, independent of this, and some other infant companies, (the rise of which is noticed under the proper head hereafter,) it appears certain, that between about 1570 and 1600, no less than eleven places had been

constructed for, or were applied to, the purpose of dramatic exhibitions. They were these:—

The Theatre, built about	1570
The Curtain	1570
The Blackfriars	1576
The Whitefriars	1576
The Newington Theatre	1580
The Rose	1585
The Hope	1585
Paris Garden Playhouse	1588
The Globe	1594
The Swan	1595
The Fortune	1599

Although an attempt was made, on the building of the Fortune in 1599, to limit theatres to only two, it seems to have entirely failed; and at the death of Elizabeth, most, if not all the theatres above enumerated, were open. The employment of inn-yards for the performance of plays was discontinued, as regular houses of the kind were established.

ANNALS OF THE STAGE,

FROM THE YEAR 1603 *TO THE YEAR* 1617.

JAMES I. evinced his strong disposition to favour theatrical amusements some years before he succeeded to the English throne: he was a poet himself, or at least had royal pretensions to that distinction; and whatever posterity may have thought of his productions, his contemporaries placed him in the first rank, as a matter of course and courtesy*.

A. D. 1599. Towards the close of the year 1599, a company of English players arrived in Edinburgh †; whether they had, or had not, come by invitation, is not apparent, but it is undoubted, that the King gave them every encouragement, and immediately granted them his licence to perform within the Burgh. This proceeding (according to Archbishop Spottis-

* See Henry Constable's, W. Fouler's, and Henry Lok's Sonnets, before 'His Majesties Poeticall Exercises,' printed by R. Waldegrave, about 1591.

† It has been supposed by some that Shakespeare was a member of this company, and that he even took his description of Macbeth's castle from local observation. No evidence can be produced either way, excepting Malone's conjecture, that Shakespeare could not have left London in 1599, in consequence of the production of his *Henry V.* in that year. Shakespeare by Boswell, ii. 416.

wood, in his 'History of the Church of Scotland,' p. 457) 'occasioned new jars between the King and 'the ministers of Edinburgh:' the latter exclaimed, 'in 'their sermons, against stage-players; their unruliness 'and immodest behaviour; and in their sessions made 'an act prohibiting people to resort unto their plays, 'under pain of the church censures.' This act the King considered 'a discharge of his licence' to the players; and, from the same authority, we learn that he called the 'sessions before the Council, and ordained 'them to annul their act, and not to restrain the 'people from going to these comedies.' This spirited conduct at once produced its effect, and on the very next day, 'all that pleased were permitted to repair 'unto the same;' but the Archbishop adds, that it 'was to the great offence of the ministers.'

This proceeding in favour of the 'English Comedians' was the more bold on the part of the King, because in March, 1574-5, (the same year in which so strong an effort was made to suppress dramatic representations in London,) the General Assembly had asserted its right to license all players, and had expressly forbidden that 'na clerk playes, comedies, 'or tragedies be maid of the cannonicall Scriptures, as 'weil new as auld, on Sabboth-day nor wark day; 'and that all profaine playes as are not maid upon 'authentick pairtes of Scripture' should be considered before they were publicly exhibited, and that they should not be allowed at all upon Sunday. In consequence of this Act, a company of players did not

act at Perth, in 1589, without the licence of the consistory of the church first obtained *; and it was only ten years afterwards, that James exercised, and enforced his royal prerogative to permit the performance of theatrical entertainments.

A. D. 1603. James I. arrived at the Charter-house on the 7th May, 1603, and it seems to have been thought a proper mark of respect, that all the theatrical companies then playing in London should discontinue their performances, until they received the royal licence to renew them. This fact, now for the first time noticed, we learn from Henslowe's Diary, where he states, under date of 5th May, 1603, that the players with which he was connected 'left to play now at the King's coming;' and a regulation that would apply to one set of performers would, no doubt, apply to all †. By the same MS. we find also, that the performances were only suspended until the 9th May, when the Earl of Worcester's men began to play again: the entry is in these words:—

'Beginninge to playe agayne by the Kynges licence,

* Chalmers's Apology, p. 416.

† From the following entries in Henslowe's Diary, we may, perhaps conclude, that during the illness of Queen Elizabeth, and in consequence of the plague, some of the companies of players usually performing in London went into the country.

'Lent, the 12 Marche 1602, unto John Lowyn, when he went into the 'contrey with his companye to playe, 5*s*.

'Lent, the 12 Marche 1602, unto Thomas Blackwode, when he went 'into the contrey with his company to play, 10*s*.'

Elizabeth died twelve days afterwards.

'issewd owt since for my Lord of Worsters men, as 'foloweth—1603, 9 of Maye.'

Taking these expressions literally and strictly, we should conclude that prior to the 9th May, within two days after his arrival in London, James I. granted his royal licence to the Earl of Worcester's players, and that that document preceded, by at least ten days, a similar licence given to 'Lawrence Fletcher, William Shakespeare and others:' such may have been the fact; but as no document of the kind is extant, perhaps all we ought to infer from Henslowe's expressions is, that the players, having been silenced by the Lord Chamberlain on the 5th May, in anticipation of the arrival of the King, were permitted, in consequence of directions from the Crown, to continue their performances on the 9th May.

The licence '*pro Laurentio Fletcher et Willielmo Shakespeare et aliis*,' bears date on the 19th May, 1603: Fletcher and Shakespeare were at that time at the head of the Lord Chamberlain's company, performing at the Globe in the summer, and at the Blackfriars in the winter; for although the former only is mentioned in the instrument, we have seen that, as early as 1596, Shakespeare, Burbage (so his name is spelt in 1603), and others, were engaged in the repair and enlargement of the Blackfriars theatre. The other actors, besides Fletcher and Shakespeare, enumerated in the licence of James I., were

Richard Burbage,
Augustine Phillippes,

John Hemmings,
Henry Condell,
William Sly,
Robert Armyn, and
Richard Cowlye,

forming the principal members of what had previously been the Lord Chamberlain's company; but who, by virtue of this instrument, in which they are termed 'our servants,' became the King's players, and were so afterwards constantly distinguished. They, and their associates, were licensed to perform 'comedies, 'tragedies, histories, interludes, morals, pastorals and 'stage plays,' in any part of the kingdom. This document is subjoined in a note from the Privy Seal, preserved in the Chapter-house, Westminster, and not from Rymer's *Fœdera*, whence it has hitherto been inaccurately quoted *.

* The Privy Seal bears date two days earlier than the Patent under the Great Seal. It runs thus:—

'BY THE KING.

'Right trusty and welbeloved Counsellor, we greete you well & will 'and commaund you, that under our privie Seale in your custody for 'the time being, you cause our letters to be derected to the keeper of 'our greate seale of England, commaunding him under our said 'greate Seale, he cause our letters to be made patents in forme 'following. James, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, 'Fraunce and Irland, defendor of the faith, &c. To all Justices, 'Maiors, Sheriffs, Constables, Headboroughes, and other our officers 'and loving subjects greeting. Know ye, that we of our speciall grace, 'certaine knowledge, and meere motion have licenced & authorized, and 'by these presentes doe licence & authorize, these our servants, Law- 'rence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, Augustine 'Phillippes, John Hemmings, Henrie Condell, William Sly, Robert

Other members of the royal family adopted companies of performers, until then (in pursuance of the provisions of the 14th and 39th of Elizabeth) acting under the protection of particular noblemen. Thomas Heywood, in the dedication to his Γυναικειον, *or General History of Women*, 1624, mentions that he had been one of the servants of the Earl of Worcester,

'Armyn, Richard Cowlye, and the rest of their associats, freely to use
'& exercise the arte and faculty of playing Comedies, Tragedies, His-
'tories, Enterludes, Moralls, Pastoralls, Stage plaies, and such other
'like, as thei have already studied, or hereafter shall use or studie, as-
'well for the recreation of our loving subjects, as for our solace and
'pleasure, when we shall thinke good to see them, during our pleasure.
'And the said Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Enterludes, Moralls,
'Pastoralls, Stage plaies, and such like, to shew & exercise publiquely
'to their best commoditie, when the infection of the plague shall de-
'crease, as well within theire now usuall howse called the Globe, within
'our county of Surrey, as also within anie towne halls, or mout halls, or
'other convenient places within the liberties & freedome of any other
'citie, universitie, towne, or borough whatsoever within our said
'realmes and dominions. Willing and commaunding you, and every
'of you, as you tender our pleasure, not only to permit and suffer
'them heerin, without any your letts, hinderances or molestations,
'during our said pleasure, but also to be ayding or assisting to them
'yf any wrong be to them offered. And to allowe them such former
'courtesies, as hathe bene given to men of their place and qualitie:
'and also what further favour you shall shew to these our servants for
'our sake, we shall take kindly at your hands. And these our letters
'shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalfe. Given
'under our Signet at our mannor of Greenewiche, the seavententh day
'of May in the first yeere of our raigne of England, France & Ireland,
'& of Scotland the six & thirtieth.

'Ex. per Lake.'

The Patent, as given by Rymer, bears date at Westminster.

who, upon the accession of James I., 'bestowed him upon that excellent princess, Queen Anne.' The Queen's servants, as they were subsequently called, performed in the first instance at the Red Bull, in St. John-street. Prince Henry also had a company of players acting in his name, who occupied the Fortune, in Golding-lane, and the Curtain, in Shoreditch: these last, prior to the death of Elizabeth, had been the servants of the Earl of Nottingham, and with them Henslowe was principally connected*: in his Diary, under date of the 14th of March, 1604, he states that Thomas Downton and Edward Juby were at the head of 'the Company of the Prince's men,' without mentioning Edward Alleyn, who unquestionably at that date acted with them: Henslowe seems never to have included his step-son in the list of performers, and in 1597, it appears by his account-book, that the Earl of Nottingham's players consisted of the following:—

'William Borne, alias Bird,
'Gabriel Spenser,
'Martin Slater, or Slaughter,

* The following passage from Gilbert Dugdale's *Time Triumphant*, 1604, is here in point:—'Nay, see the beauty of our all kinde sove-'raigne; not only to the indifferent of worth, and the worthy of honour, 'did he freely deale about these causes, but to the meane gave grace; 'as taking to him the late Lord Chamberlain's servants, now the 'King's acters; the Queen taking to her the Earl of Worster's 'servants, that are now her acters; and the Prince, their son, Henry, 'Prince of Wales, full of hope, tooke to him the Earl of Nottingham 'his servants, who are now his acters: so that of Lords servants they 'are now the servants of the King, Queen, and Prince.' *Sign.* B.

'Richard Jones,
'Thomas Downton, or Dowton,
'Edward Juby,
'Thomas Towne,
'Gabriel Synger, and
'The two Jeffes.'

They were taken into the service of Prince Henry immediately after his father came to the Crown; and then the company consisted of these players, as their names stand in the Book of the Household Establishment of Prince Henry*:—

'Thomas Towne,
'Thomas Downton,
'William Byrde,
'Samuel Rowley,
'Edward Juby,
'Charles Massy,
'Humphrey Jeffes,
'Edward Colbrande,
'William Parre,
'Richard Pryore,
'William Stratford,
'Francis Grace,
'John Shanke†.'

* Harl. MSS., No. 252. Dr. Birch, in the Appendix to his Life of Prince Henry, p. 455, enumerates also Anthony Jeffes, but he does not quote his authority. Anthony Jeffes was, of course, one of the 'two Jeffes' mentioned by Henslowe in 1597. Chalmers only follows Dr. Birch, not having examined the original document quoted in the text above.

† How it happens that the name of Edward Alleyn is not included it is not easy to explain, but we have the authority of Dekker for stating that he was one of the Prince's servants in 1603. In that rare tract by Dekker, describing the *Magnificent Entertainment* on the 15th

Another company was also at this period taken under the protection of the Queen; viz., those who had been the Children of the Chapel under Elizabeth, and who, after James I. came to the crown, were called the Children of her Majesty's Revels. On the 30th of January, 1603-4, a warrant was made out under the Privy Seal to appoint Edward Kirkham, Alexander Hawkins, Thomas Kendall, and Robert Payne, 'to 'provide, keep, and bring up a convenient number of 'children,' for the purpose of exhibiting 'plays and shews' before the Queen; and they were farther authorized to perform at the Blackfriars Theatre, or any other convenient place*. The instrument contains an unusual provision at the close, referring to a poet of great celebrity, and certainly trenching on the

of March, 1603, and printed with the date of 1604, we meet with the following passage:—

'Of all which personages *Genius and Thamesis* were the only speakers: 'Thamesis being represented by one of the Children of her Majesties 'Revels; *Genius* by M. Allin (servant to the young Prince) his gratu- 'latory speech, which was delivered with excellent action, and a well 'tunde audible voice.'

Dekker also, in the same piece, mentions W. Bourne, or Borne, 'one of the servants of the young Prince,' by which name William Birde was sometimes known: he is included in the preceding list. It is a circumstance not elsewhere noticed, that Thomas Middleton was the writer of a long speech in this *Magnificent Entertainment*, an obligation which Dekker duly acknowledges.

* This, no doubt, as has before been remarked, is that 'eyry of children, little eyases that cry out on the top of question,' mentioned in Hamlet, Act II. sc. 2. and of whose superior popularity Shakespeare complains.

rights and powers of the Master of the Revels:—no 'plays or shews' were to be acted by the Children of the Queen's Revels, either before her Majesty or in public, which had not received the approbation and allowance of Samuel Daniel. This document, which is subjoined in a note*, is quite new in the history of

* It is deposited in the Chapter-house, Westminster.

'James by the grace of God, &c. To all Maiors, Sheriffs, Justices 'of Peace, Bailiffs, Constables, and to all other our officers, mynisters 'and loving subjects to whom these presents shall come, greeting. 'Whereas the Queene, our deerest wife, hath for her pleasure & recrea- 'tion, when she shall thinke it fitt to have any Playes or shewes, ap- 'pointed her servants, Edward Kirkham, Alexander Hawkins, Thomas 'Kendall, and Robert Payne to provide & bring up a convenient 'nomber of children, who shalbe called Children of her Revells. Know 'ye, that we have appointed and authorized, and by these presents doe 'authorize and appoint the said Edward Kirkham, Alexander Hawkins, 'Thomas Kendall, and Robert Payne from tyme to tyme to provide, 'keep, and bring up a convenient nomber of Children, and them to 'practise and exercise in the quallitie of playing, by the name of 'Children of the Revells to the Queene within the Blackfryers in our 'Cittie of London, or in any other convenient place where they shall 'thinck fitt for that purpose. Wherefore we will and commaund you, 'and every of you, to whom it shall apperteyne, to permitt her said servants to keepe a convenient nomber of children by the name of 'the Children of her Revells, and them to exercise in the quallitie of 'playing according to her pleasure. Provided always, that no such 'Playes or Shewes shall be presented before the said Queene our 'wife by the said children, or by them any where publickly acted, but 'by the approbation and allowance of Samuel Daniell, whom her 'pleasure is to appoint for that purpose. And these our letters patents 'shalbe your sufficient warrant in this behalf. In witness whereof, &c. 'Given under our signet at our honor of Hampton Courte, the thirtieth 'day of January in the first yere of our raigne &c. Ex. per Lake.'

the Stage, and it shows how it happened that the Children of the Revels 'occasionally performed' at Blackfriars, a point which Malone was unable to explain.

This appointment of Daniel to be, as it were, Master of the Queen's Revels, may serve, perhaps, to solve the doubt that has hung over his nomination as Poet Laureat, a situation which Malone supposes him voluntarily to have filled. The selection of these four masters (of whom nothing further is known) may also account for the new constitution of the company of the children of the Revels, upon which Gifford observes, when speaking of *Epicœne* which was acted by them in 1609*. Of course, this comedy must have gone through the hands of Daniel, for his allowance before it was represented, and at the date when it was brought out we have the evidence of the author himself, in the folio of 1616, that the following were among the members of the company, 'provided and kept,' by Kirkham, Hawkins, Kendall and Payne.

'Nat. Field,
'Gil. Carie,
'Hug. Attawel,

* Malone (Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 61) says, that several of Ben Jonson's comedies were acted by the children of the Revels in the earlier part of King James's reign; but this is an oversight, from his confounding the plays by Ben Jonson performed by the children of the Chapel, in the reign of Elizabeth, with the only piece by him represented by the children of the Queen's Revels in the reign of James I. —*Epicœne.*

'Joh. Smith,
'Will. Barksted,
'Will. Pen,
'Ric. Allin, and
'Joh. Blaney*.'

How long the children of the Queen's Revels continued occasionally to perform at Blackfriars, we have no distinct evidence; but, on the title-page of Ben Jonson's *Case is Altered*, printed in 1609†, they are

* When the children of the Chapel performed Ben Jonson's *Poetaster* in 1601, 'the principal comedians were,

'Nat. Field,
'Sal. Pavy,
'Tho. Day,
'Joh. Underwood,
'Will. Ostler,
'Tho. Marton.'

Thus we see that Field was, probably, the only performer retained by the new masters, when they remodelled the company as the children of the Queen's Revels. Salathiel Pavy is supposed to have died before James came to the throne; Gifford conjectures in 1601. *Ben Jonson's Works*, viii. 230.

† I may take this opportunity of correcting an error by Gifford, when he states, that 'had chronology only been consulted, *The Case is Altered* should have stood at the head of Jonson's works.' He has himself shewn (Memoirs, xxv. and xl.) that *Every Man in his Humour* was written in 1596, and it was unquestionably acted in 1598 by the Lord Chamberlain's servants. It is quite as clear, and Gifford adduces the evidence upon the point, (*Ben Jonson's Works*, vi, 327,) and relies upon it, that *The Case is Altered* was not written until after Francis Meres in his *Palladis Tamia*, printed in 1598, had called Anthony Munday 'the best plotter.' Ben Jonson's ridicule of Munday depends upon this expression.

called 'the children of Blackfriars,' so that up to that year they still had possession of that playhouse. The King's players certainly performed at the Blackfriars in the winter, when the Globe was shut; and, perhaps, the children of the Queen's Revels acted in it during the summer, when it was unoccupied by the King's players. The children of the Queen's Revels, not long afterwards, seem to have played at the Whitefriars Theatre*.

Very soon after Daniel's appointment, probably before the termination of 1604, a play was produced and acted by the children of the Revels, which occasioned some trouble to the three authors of it, Marston, Jonson and Chapman, although we do not discover any circumstance to show that Daniel shared their suffering or disgrace:—I allude to *Eastward Ho!* printed more than once in 1605. One or more passages in this piece, as it was performed, reflected on the Scotch †,

* Nathaniel Field's *Woman is a Weathercock*, perhaps, his *Amends for Ladies*, Marston's (or Barkstead's) *Insatiate Countess*, and several others, might be mentioned as having been performed at the Whitefriars Theatre prior to 1612. *Woman is a Weathercock* was printed in 1612, *Amends for Ladies*, which is its sequel, not until 1618; but there is a piece of evidence, never yet adduced, to show that both must have been written and acted anterior to 1611, an earlier date than has yet been assigned to either of them. In the 'Admonition to a discontented Romanist,' at the end of Anthony Stafford's *Niobe dissolved into a Nilus*, 1611, occurs this sentence, clearly referring to the title of Field's second play:—'No, no, Sir: I will never write an *Amends for Women* 'till I see women amended.'

† Some of the copies of *Eastward Ho!* in 1605, are without the fol-

and Gifford informs us that they 'gave offence to Sir 'James Murray, who represented it in so strong a 'light to the King, that orders were given to arrest 'the authors. It does not appear that Jonson had 'any considerable share in the composition of this 'piece; but as he was undoubtedly privy to its writing, 'and "an accessary before the fact," he justly consi-'dered himself as equally implicated with the rest*.' The same acute biographer adds, that Jonson 'stood 'in such favour, that he was not molested; but this 'did not satisfy him, and he, therefore, with a high 'sense of honour, voluntarily accompanied his two 'friends to prison, determined to share their fate.'

lowing passage, and hence it has been supposed, that it was one of those which gave offence, and that it was omitted afterwards. What others were repeated in the performance, we have no means of knowing; but nothing that was printed seems to warrant any severity of proceeding against the authors. Seagul (act iii., scene 1) thus speaks of *Virginia*:—'And then you shall live freely there without serjeants, 'or courtiers, or lawyers, or intelligencers; only a few industrious Scots, 'perhaps, who indeed are dispersed over the face of the whole earth. 'But as for them, there are no greater friends to Englishmen & Eng-'land, when they are out on't, in the world than they are: and for my 'part I would a hundred thousand of them were there, for we are all 'one countrymen now, you know, and we should find ten times more 'comfort of them there, than we do here.' The part of the dialogue in act iv. scene 1., which relates to 'thirty pound knights,' and to the manner in which knighthood was bestowed in the beginning of the reign of James I., would seem much more objectionable, and likely to produce imprisonment, did we not know that it was often afterwards made a subject of ridicule by many dramatists with impunity.

* Memoirs of Ben Jonson: *Works*, 1. lxxiv.

The facts connected with this transaction, we have upon the authority of Ben Jonson himself, who mentioned them in his conversation with Drummond of Hawthornden: we there find it noticed, that a report had prevailed that the three poets would be punished by cutting off their ears; but they were released, and Ben Jonson's mother, (who, as Gifford observes, must have been a high spirited woman,) at an entertainment given on their deliverance, at which Camden, Selden and others were present, drank to her son, 'and shewed 'him a paper which she designed, if the sentence had 'taken effect, to have mixed with his drink, and it was 'strong and lusty poison: to shew that she was no 'churl, she designed to have first drank of it herself. It has been said, that Marston, Jonson and Chapman were set at liberty at the intercession of Camden and Selden, but we are without proof of this circumstance.

In the winter of 1604, the King's players, who must then have been performing at Blackfriars, also appear to have at least run the risk of exciting the displeasure of the Court, by acting a play on the subject of the conspiracy of Earl Gowry, an event then of recent occurrence. In a letter of John Chamberlaine to Sir R. Winwood, dated 18th of December, 1604, the circumstance is noticed in these terms:— 'The tragedy of Gowry, with all action and actors, 'hath been twice represented by the King's players, 'with exceeding concourse of all sorts of people; but 'whether the matter or manner be not well handled,

'or that it be thought unfit, that Princes should be 'played on the stage in their life-time, I hear that 'some great counsellors are much displeased with it, 'and so it is thought it shall be forbidden.' Whether it was, or was not, prohibited, is uncertain, and no such play has survived.

In the Library of the Society of Antiquaries is preserved a manuscript, which shows precisely the extent and amount of the musical and dramatic establishment of James I.; and although it is without any precise date, we may pretty safely decide, that the account was made out soon after he ascended the throne. We find from it, that the annual fee of the Master of the Revels had been raised to 100*l.*, besides the allowance of diet in court; but each of the players was allowed, as they had been from the time of Henry VII. downwards, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum*.

The number of companies of players, acting under

* Antiq. Soc. MSS. No. 74. The account runs thus :—

'The Revells.

'Mr of the Revells, fee 100*l.*, and diett, in courte.

'Musitians.	£.	s.	d.	
'Sarjant's fee	24	6	8	
'The rest, fee	38	6	8	a-piece
'Sagbutts, fee	20	0	0	a-piece
'Drumslades, fee	18	5	0	a-piece
'Fyfe, fee	18	5	0	
'Players on Virginals, fee	30	0	0	a-piece
'Musitians strangers, fee	183	6	8	
'Plaiers of interluds, fee	3	6	8	a-piece
'Maker of Instruments	20	0	0.'	

the name and protection of the nobility, very early in the reign of James I. attracted attention, and it was evidently thought, that the permission of this kind given by the 14 Eliz., c. 5, and the 39 Eliz., c. 4, was productive of considerable inconvenience. Accordingly, the provisions of those statutes were repealed by the 1 Jac. I., c. 7, which contains the following clause:—'Be it declared and enacted, that from 'henceforth, no authority to be given or made by any 'Baron of this realm, or any other honourable per-'sonage of greater degree, unto any other person or 'persons, shall be available to free or discharge the 'said persons, or any of them, from the pains and 'punishments in the said statute (39 Eliz., c. 4) 'mentioned.' Henceforward, therefore, all actors travelling round the country, protected only by the licence of one of the nobility, were to be liable to the pains and penalties enacted against vagrants.

It is not easy to settle, with accuracy, how many theatres remained open soon after the accession of James I. We are certain that the Globe and Blackfriars theatres were in the hands of Shakespeare, and the rest of the King's servants, and that the children of the Queen's Revels also occasionally performed at the Blackfriars: perhaps, while the Blackfriars was used by the King's servants in the winter, the children of the Queen's Revels retired to the Whitefriars theatre, in the immediate neighbourhood; and we know that they played there in 1611. The For-

tune, in Golding-lane*, and the Curtain, in Shoreditch, were engaged by the servants of Prince Henry†: the Red Bull was in the hands of the company playing under the name of the Queen; and, at a subsequent date, we find them in possession of the Cockpit theatre, in Drury-lane. The Hope, Swan, and Rose on the Bankside, had also theatrical tenants, at least occasionally, if not permanently. The last of these had been for many years in the possession of Philip Henslowe, and by a memorandum in his hand, dated 25th June, 1603, it is to be inferred, that at that date his lease of the ground on which it stood was about to expire, and that he was negociating for its renewal. He calls it 'the little Rose;' and it seems, that the rent required for the ground was 20*l.*, and it was also stipulated, that he should lay out 100 marks on some buildings connected with it. In the same memorandum he registers his opinion, that the demand was exorbitant, and he subjoins his determination, (expressed to the party negociating for the ground-

* The Fortune was open at Christmas 1603, as is evident from Henslowe's Diary; and a piece called *The Four Sons of Aymon* was then represented at it.

† Malone, in his *Inquiry* into the authenticity of the Shakespeare forgeries, p. 215, quotes a letter, dated April 9th, 1604, to the Lord Mayor of London, and to the Justices of the Peace of the Counties of Middlesex and Surrey, ordering them 'to permit and suffer the three compa-'nies of Players to the King, Queene, and Prince, to exercise ther 'plaies in ther severall and usuall howses, the Globe, the Fortune, and the Curtain.'

landlord) rather to pull down the theatre, than to accept such terms. Prior to this date, the Newington theatre (in which, also, Henslowe had been concerned, mentioning it under the years 1594 and 1596) had no doubt been pulled down, or the use of it as a play-house totally discontinued.

A. D. 1604. Samuel Daniel had the honour of being called upon to provide a Mask for the first Christmas after James came to the throne: it was called *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, and it was presented by the Queen and her ladies on the 8th January, 1603-4. There is no trace of any other performance of the same kind; nor is it known whether the King's servants, or any other players, were required to act during the festivities of Christmas. There is no distinct account of any payments of the kind; but a MS. belonging to the Royal Society, purporting to be a statement of Exchequer receipts and payments from Michaelmas 1603 to Easter 1603-4, includes the subsequent item, which shows that the services of the officers of the Revels had been required in that interval.

'To Edmund Tillney, Esquire, Master of the 'Revells, for the fees and wages of sondry officers 'and ministers attending in the said office, as for 'sondry other necessaries delivered into that office, by 'Privy Seale, 100*l.*'

I have been able to find no Privy Seal for any such purpose; and the expenses of preparations for Masks

were not then usually charged in the accounts of the Master of the Revels. Many instances will hereafter be produced, of separate payments, by virtue of Privy Seals, for Masks which were under the superintendence of a different individual.

In the commencement of the reign of James I., Nathaniel Giles was continued in his office of Master of the Children of the Chapel; and, on the 17th Sept. 1604, he obtained, in that capacity, renewed letters patent * directed to 'all and singular Deans, Archdeacons, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, and all other our officers and ministers,' authorising him, or his deputy, 'to take such and so many children, as he or his deputy shall think meet, in all Cathedral, Collegiate, Parish Churches, Chapels, and Schools, where public teaching of Music is used,' &c. 'of our princely care for the advancement, helpe, and furtherance of such children;' and it adds, that 'after serving three years, if they lose their voices, they shall be sent to College to be taught at the King's charge.'

It appears by what is entitled 'a Briefe Collection of the Extraordinarie Payments' of the Court of James I., from the time when he came to the crown to the end of 1609, that the 'charges for Masks' amounted to no less a sum than 4215*l.*† It included

* The Privy Seal is preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster.

† A very considerable part of this sum seems to have been expended upon *The Mask of Blackness*, and the Revels of 1604-5: according to letters from John Chamberlain to Sir Ralph Winwood, quoted by

the expenses of Ben Jonson's *Mask of Blackness*, on the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert and Lady Susan Vere, in 1604-5*, and it is a circumstance, I believe nowhere noticed, (certainly not by Gifford,) that this piece exists, in the handwriting of the author, among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum: it is there called merely *The Twelvth Nights' Revells*, and it is curious, as it differs materially from the printed copies, and seems to have been intended by Ben Jonson as a direction how the performance should be conducted. This remark applies chiefly to the prose descriptions,

Gifford, (*Ben Jonson's Works*, vii. 4) 3000*l.* were delivered from the Exchequer in one sum, for the entertainments at Court during Christmas, 1604-5.

* Malone quoted the following particulars, regarding the Court amusements at Christmas 1604-5, from *Winwood's Memorials*, ii. 43: they are from a letter by Sir Dudley Carlton. 'At night (i. e. Christ-'mas night) we had the Queen's Mask in the Banqueting-house, or 'rather her Pageant. There was a great engine at the lower end of 'the room which had motion, and in it were the images of sea-horses, 'with other terrible fishes, which were ridden by the Moors. The in-'decorum was, that there was all fish and no water. At the farther end 'was a great shell, in the form of a skallop, wherein were four seats: on 'the lowest sat the Queen with my Lady Bedford: on the rest were 'placed the Ladies Suffolk, Derby, &c. On St. John's day we had 'the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert and Lady Susan performed at 'Whitehall with all the honour could be done a great favourite. The 'Court was great, and for that day put on the best bravery. At night 'there was a mask in the hall, which for conceit and fashion was suit-'able to the occasion. The presents of plate, and other things, given 'by the noblemen, were valued at 2500*l.*; but that which made it a 'good marriage was a gift of the King's, of 500*l.* land, for the bride's 'jointure.' Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 84.

for the songs, with the exception of a few various readings *, are the same as in the old 4to. At the end is the following inscription:

Hos ego versiculos feci.
Ben: Jonson.

The sum of 421*l.* seems likewise to have included some of the charges for getting up and bringing out the same poet's *Hymenæi* on the marriage of the Earl of Essex, celebrated on Twelfth Night, 1605-6. Regarding this performance there is a curious and minute account in a letter from John Pory to Sir Robert Cotton, among the MSS. of the latter in the British Museum †. It has no date, but it bears internal evidence of the time when it was written.

'I have seen both the Maske on Sunday, and the 'Barriers on Munday night. The Bridegroom car- 'ried himself as gravely and gracefully, as if he were 'of his father's age. He had greater guiftes given

* They would all have been worth noting, had Mr. Gifford been aware of the existence of the MS. coming from no less an authority than that of Ben Jonson himself. As a specimen, the following two lines from the echo song, near the close, may be quoted: in the MS. they stand,

'If not, impute it each to other matter,
'They are but earth, and what you *owed* was water.'

Ben Jonson would hardly have written *owed* with his own hand, if he had meant *vowed*, as it is given in Gifford's Ben Jonson, vii. 17.

'If not, impute it each to other matter,
'They are but earth, and what you *vowed* was water.'

† Cotton MSS. Julius, c. iii.

'him then my Lord of Mountgomery had, his plate 'being valued at 3000li & his jewels, mony and other 'guifts at 1000li more. But to returne to the Maske. 'Both Inigo, Ben and the actors men and weomen did 'their partes with great commendation. The con-'ceipt or soule of the mask was Hymen bringing in 'a bride and Juno pronubas priest a bridegroome, 'proclaiming that those two should be sacrificed to 'Nuptial Union: and here the poet made an apo-'strophe to the union of kingdomes. But before the 'sacrifice could be performed, Ben Jonson burned 'the globe of the erth standing behind the altar, and 'within the concave sate the 8 men-maskers repre-'senting the 4 humors and the fower affections, who 'leaped forth to disturb the sacrifice to union; but 'amidst their fury, Reason that sate above them all, 'crowned with * * * and silence them *. These 8, 'together with Reason their moderatresse mounted 'above their heades, sate somewhat like the Ladies in 'the scallop shell last year. Above the globe of erth 'hovered a middle region of cloudes, in the centre 'whereof stood a grand consort of musicians, and 'upon the Cantons, or hornes, sate the ladies, 4 at one 'corner and 4 at another, who descended upon the 'stage, not after the stale, downright, perpendicular 'fashion, like a bucket into a well, but came gently 'sloping down. These eight, after the sacrifice was 'ended, represented the 8 nuptial powers of Juno

* The MS. has here been worn away, from the binding not being long enough for the letter.

'pronubas, who came downe to confirm the union. 'The men were clad in crimson, the weomen in 'white. They had every one a white plume of the 'rechest herons fethers, and were so rich in jewels upon 'their heades as was most glorious. I think they 'hired and borrowed all the principall jewels and ropes 'of perle both in court and citty. The Spanish Ambas-'sador seemed but poore to the meanest of them. 'They daunced all variety of daunces both severally 'and promiscuè, and then the weomen tooke in men, 'as namely the prince (who danced with as great 'perfection, and as settled a majesty as could be de-'vised), the Spanish Ambassador, the Duke, &c. 'And the men gleaned out the Queen, the bride, and 'the greatest of the ladies. The second night the 'Barriers were as well performed, 15 against 15, the 'Duke of Lenox being chieftain on the one side, and 'my Lord of Sussex on the other.'

On Twelfth-night, 1606-7, a marriage was celebrated at Whitehall, between Lord Hayes, and the daughter of Lord Denny; and Thomas Campion, who calls himself 'Doctor of Physic,' and who was also a poet, a critic, and a musical composer of some eminence, prepared a Mask for the occasion *, '*The*

* Dr. Campion, as is stated at the close where the music is appended, composed two airs himself: two more were by Lupo, one of King James's Lutanists, and a fifth by Thomas Giles, who was probably related to Nathaniel Giles, the Master of the Children of the Chapel. The whole invention of the Mask was the work of Campion, who, in 1602, had published *Observations in the Art of English Poesie.* As

Description' of which, (without a name) with the music, and with a plate of one of the maskers in the gorgeous dress he wore, was published very soon afterwards with the date of 1607. It is long, but with considerable variety, and evidently must have been got up at great cost *.

The King of Denmark arrived in England in July, A. D. 1606; and Drummond of Hawthornden is 1606. very particular in his account of the proceedings of the court on this occasion: with reference to

his Mask is of rarity, it may be worth while to quote the address 'To the Reader,' with which it terminates.

'Neither buskin now, nor bayes,
'Challenge I, a Ladies prayse
'Shall content my proudest hope,
'Their applause was all my scope,
'And to their shrines properly
'Revels dedicated be:
'Whose soft eares none ought to pierce
'But with smooth and gentle verse.
'Let the tragicke Poeme swell,
'Raysing raging feendes from hell,
'And let Epicke Dactyls range
'Swelling seas and Countries strange.
'Little room small things containes,
'Easy praise quites easy paines.
'Suffer them, whose browes do sweat,
'To gain honour by the great,
'It's enough if men me name
'A Retailer of such fame.'

* According to the entries in the Stationers' Books, as quoted by Chalmers (Supp. Apol. p. 201), Shakespeare's King Lear was one of the plays acted by the King's Servants before James I. at Christmas, 1606-7. The *Tragedy of Alexander the VI.* 'as it was played before his Majesty,' was perhaps another of the performances on the same occasion, although no date is given beyond the year when it was printed.

the subject before us he remarks :—'There is nothing 'to be heard at court, but sounding of trumpets, 'hautboys, music, revelling and comedies;' and Malone was of opinion * that Shakespeare's *Macbeth* was produced at this date, and perhaps exhibited before the King: Gifford, on the other hand, thought this conjecture groundless †, and that Drummond only meant court entertainments by the word 'comedies:' had he not spoken of 'revelling' also, there might have been more ground for this position; and 'comedies,' in the generic sense of plays, may possibly have included *Macbeth*. Ben Jonson wrote a sort of pageant, exhibited at Theobalds before the Kings of England and Denmark on the 24th of July, 1606, but in the amusements of the Christmas following he had no concern.

In the mean time the performances by the public companies of players seem not only to have met with no obstruction, but to have received every encouragement; and the example of the King would, almost of course, be followed by the nobility. The Puritans, who had renewed their attack upon dramatic performances a few years before the demise of Elizabeth, were silenced, and the passing of the 3d Jac. I. c. 21, entitled 'An Act to restraine the abuses of Players,' deprived them of one of their strongest arguments. It was passed 'for the preventing and avoiding the great

* Shakespeare, by Boswell, ii. 418.

† Ben Jonson's Works, vii. 115.

'abuse of the holy name of God in stage-plays, inter-'ludes, may-games, shewes and such like;' and it inflicted a penalty of 10*l.* on every person who should 'jestingly and profanely' use the 'holy name of God, 'or of Christ Jesus, or of the Holy Ghost, or of the 'Trinity,' in any stage-play, interlude, shew, may-game, or pageant.

Shakespeare, who was one of the leaders of the Lord Chamberlain's company when they received the royal patent of 19th May, 1603, retired, in all probability, soon afterwards from the stage as an actor: the principal piece of evidence upon this point is the omission of his name, as one of the players in Ben Jonson's *Volpone*, which was acted in 1605, although it is found among those who performed the same dramatist's *Sejanus* in 1603; yet on the later occasion his assistance might have been the more required, because, in the interval between 1603 and 1605, Augustine Phillipes, who had also taken a part in *Sejanus*, had died. Shakespeare, however, continued to write for the Globe and Blackfriars theatres; and if it were true, that on the production of his *Macbeth*, James, with his own hand, wrote a letter to its author, in return for the compliment paid to him in that tragedy*,

* Malone was disposed to believe this anecdote; and Mr. Boswell, in his continuation of the Life of Shakespeare, thus speaks of it:—'We 'have been told, on authority which there is no reason to doubt, that he '(King James) wrote a letter to Shakespeare with his own hand: the 'story is told in the advertisement to Lintot's edition of Shakespeare's 'Poems, no date, but printed in 1710. The letter is there said to have 'been lost, but formerly to have been in the possession of Sir William

it would indeed indicate a degree of royal condescension and encouragement, under which the drama could not but luxuriantly flourish. This interesting point depends, according to Oldys, upon the tradition of Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham; and it is not impossible, that a privy seal by James, granting to his players, of whom Shakespeare was one of the principal, some extraordinary reward, on a particular occasion (such as was given in more than one instance by Charles I.), has been mistaken for a letter in the King's own hand, addressed individually to the poet.

Ben Jonson's *Mask of Beauty* was presented at court on the 14th of January, 1607-8, and his *Hue and Cry after Cupid* on the celebration of the marriage of Lord Haddington with Lady Elizabeth Ratcliffe, on Shrove Tuesday following. The same poet's *Mask of Queens* was exhibited on the 2d of February, 1608-9. We have no particulars of the expenses of these performances, beyond the 'briefe collection of extraordinarie payments' to the close of 1609, before quoted, and amounting in the whole to 4215*l.* *The Mask of Queens*, penned with laborious neatness and accuracy

'Davenant, "as a credible person now living can testify." The person 'thus described, we learn from Mr. Oldys' MS. additions to *Fuller's* '*Worthies*, was Sheffield Duke of Buckingham, who was told it by 'Davenant himself. This letter is, with great probability, supposed by 'Dr. Farmer to have been written in return for the compliment paid to 'him in Macbeth.' (Shakespeare, by Boswell, ii. 481.)

I cannot help thinking that, had the story been true, we should have possessed some better evidence of the fact, than a mere tradition of this kind, especially if such a letter had been so recently in existence.

by the hand of the author, is among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum, although none of the biographers of Ben Jonson appear to have been aware of its existence. It includes the Dedication to Prince Henry, found in the 4to. of 1609, and omitted by the author in the folio of 1616, in consequence of the death of the Prince. There are no material variations between the MS. and the printed copy, beyond the conversion into notes, in the latter, of what is part of the text in the former*.

In what manner Kirkham, Hawkins, Kendall, and Payne proceeded with their undertaking, under the Privy Seal of the 31st of January, 1603-4, appointing them Masters of the Children of the Queen's Revels, we are without any distinct information; but they did not continue at the head of that juvenile company more than six years. On the 4th of January, 1609-10, a new patent†, of the same kind, was granted to Philip Rosseter (a performer on the Lute) and others; and the children of the Revels accordingly per-

* As the title of the original MS. differs slightly from the printed editions of 1609, and 1616, it may be worth while to quote it:—'The 'Masque of Queenes, celebrated from the House of Fame by the most 'absolute in all state and Titles, Anne, Queene of Great Britayne, &c. 'with her honorable Ladyes. At white Hall Feby 2, 1609. Written 'by B. Jonson. *Et memòrem famam, quæ benè gessit, habet.*'

† Neither the Patent nor the Privy Seal are extant, but the date and conditions of the former are recited in a subsequent grant to the same person, of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. It does not appear whether at this date Samuel Daniel had still the superintendence and allowance of the pieces to be acted by the children of the Queen's Revels.

manently established themselves at the Whitefriars Theatre, where they had performed, at least occasionally, while they were still under Kirkham and his three associates.

In a very rare tract by Dekker, called *The Raven's Almanack*, printed in 1609, three companies only are spoken of, as then engaged in very active rivalry: although he names none of them, we can have little hesitation in deciding that two of them were the King's and Queen's servants, and possibly the third was the children of the Revels, under this new patent to Rosseter. In the division of his pamphlet, headed 'Autumn,' Dekker thus prophesies:—'Another civil 'war do I find will fall between players, which, albeit 'at the beginning of this fatal year they salute one 'another like sworn brothers, yet before the middle of 'it, shall they wish one another's throat cut for two 'pence. The contention of the two houses (the Gods 'be thanked) was appeased long ago, but a deadly 'war between these three houses will, I fear, burst out 'like thunder and lightning. For it is thought, that 'flag will be advanced, as it were in martial defiance, 'against flag*: numbers of people will also be mustered 'and fall to one side or other: the drums and trumpets 'must be sounded; parts will then, even by the chiefest 'players, be taken; words will pass to and fro, speeches 'cannot be so put up, hands will walk, an alarum be 'given: Fortune must favour them, else they are 'never able to stand.' A.D. 1609.

* In reference to the hanging out of flags at the theatres.

Edmund Tylney, who had been appointed Master of the Revels in 1579, on the demise of Sir T. Berenger, after filling the office for more than thirty years, died in October, 1610, and was succeeded by Sir George Buc,* who for some time had discharged the duties of the situation, in consequence of the illness of his predecessor. Sir George Buc superintended the department in the June before the death of Tylney, on the fifth of which month, the day after Henry had been created Prince of Wales, Daniel's

* Sir George Buc, or Buck, was knighted in 1603, and, in 1605, he published a poem, called 'Δαφνις Πολυστεφανος. An eclog treating of Crownes and of Garlandes,' &c., addressed to the King. In the library at Bridgewater-house is a copy of this poem, which had been presented by the author to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, and containing on the fly-leaf, in the handwriting of the author, the following stanza, which, by the kindness of Lord F. Leveson Gower, I was permitted to transcribe:—

'To the right honorable the greatest counsellour, Sir Tho.
'Egerton, knight, baron of Ellesmere, Lord Chancellour
'of England, my very good Lord.
'Great and grave Lord, my mind hath longed long
'In any thankfull maner to declare,
'By act or woord, or were it in a song,
'How great to you my obligations are;
'Who did so nobly, and so timely pluck
'From Griffins talons your distressed Buck.'

The nature of the obligation is not precisely known; but, perhaps, it was increased by the recommendation of Sir George Buck to be Master of the Revels, on the death of Tylney. A person of the name of Paul Bucke wrote a play, called 'Three Lordes and Three Ladies of London,' printed in 1590: he was, perhaps, some relation to Sir George Buck. Prior to 1615, Sir George Buck wrote a distinct treatise on the office of the Revels.

Tethys Festival was represented at Whitehall. Inigo Jones, on the same occasion, devised the machinery. In Winwood's *State Papers*, it is said, that the Mask was 'a most glorious one,' and there is no doubt that it gave complete satisfaction*. Daniel speaks very modestly of his own share in the exhibition:—'But 'in these things, wherein the only life consists in 'shew, the art and invention of the architect gives the 'greatest grace, and is of most importance: ours the 'least part, and of least note:' it is, however, the only part that is valuable, or permanent.

Gifford was at a loss to decide at what date Ben Jonson's *Mask of Oberon*, preceded by 'Prince Henry's Barriers,' was performed†. He at first assigned it to the 5th of June, 1610, when Daniel's production was exhibited; but he afterwards detected this error, though he still remained in doubt when it was produced. Mr. Nicholls, in his *Progresses of James I.*, states correctly, that it was represented on the 1st of January, 1610-11; and he quotes a letter from John More to Sir R. Winwood, dated 15th Dec., 1610, in which the following passage referring to it, and to two other performances of the same kind, occurs. 'Yet doth 'the Prince make but one Mask, and the Queen but 'two, which doth cost her Majesty but 600*l.*; neither

* By Cotton MS. Titus, b. iv., we find that the cost of the production of Daniel's Mask was no less than 1636*l.* It is thus entered under the title 'Masks,'

'At the Prince, his creation . . £1636 0 0.'

† Ben Jonson's Works, viii. 279.

'do I see any likelihood of any further extraordinary 'expense that this Christmas will bring.' The first mask here noticed was *Oberon*, and the two others, *Love freed from Ignorance and Folly*, and *Love Restored*, all three by Ben Jonson.

In confirmation of what is said by John More as to the expense of these exhibitions, a MS. in the Cottonian Collection, headed, 'An abstract of all his 'Majesty's expenses for one half year, ending March '25th, 1612*,' may be cited: it there appears, that the Court Revels, at Christmas and Shrovetide 1610-11, cost 280*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.*; this sum was independent of the charges of Sir George Buc for his department, amounting, during the half year, to the sum of 293*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*; so that, in the whole, less than 600*l.* appears to have been expended†.

Prince Henry died at the age of nineteen, on the A.D. 1612. 6th Nov. 1612, but the gloom spread over the court and kingdom by this event was soon dispersed by the splendour of royal entertainments. The Elector Palatine of the Rhine, who had arrived in the middle of October, for the purpose of being married to the Princess Elizabeth, was created a Knight of the Garter on the 29th December. It does not seem that any Masks were exhibited on New

* Titus, b. iv.

† In 1612, the King gave 'the House of St. John's,' where the office of the Revels had been held, to the Lord Aubignée, and allowed Alexander Stafford, 'Clerk Comptroller of the Tents and Revels,' 15*l.* per annum for house-rent in lieu of it.

Year's Day, nor on Twelfth Day; but at Shrovetide, when the union was celebrated, three were presented. The first only was at the expense of the court: it was called *The Lord's Mask*, was written by Dr. Campion, and was exhibited on Shrove Sunday, the 14th Feb. 1612-13. Two others were given at the expense of the four principal Inns of Court, viz., George Chapman's *Memorable Mask*, on the 15th February, by the Societies of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn; and Francis Beaumont's well-known production of the same description, on the 20th February*, by the Societies of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn. The machinery and contrivances for all three were by Inigo Jones. In the Chapter-house is preserved the original Privy Seal for the issue to Inigo Jones of any sums of money that the Earl of Suffolk (Lord Chamberlain) and the Earl of Worcester (Master of the Horse) might think necessary for the occasion †.

* Beaumont's mask was intended to have been performed on the 16th Feb. (Shrove Tuesday), and all the maskers went in state to Whitehall, by water, for the purpose. The following quotation from a letter from John Chamberlaine to Sir Dudley Carlton, shows the cause of its postponement until the 20th February.

'But by what ill planet it fell out I know not, they (the maskers) 'came home as they went, without doing any thing: the reason whereof 'I cannot yet learn thoroughly, but only that the hall was so full, it 'was not possible to avoid it to make room for them; besides that most 'of the ladies were in the galleries to see them land, and could not 'get in.'

† As it is the earliest document, for such a purpose, yet discovered, it may be worth quoting. 'James R.

According to Dugdale's *Origines Juridiciales*, the getting up and presenting Chapman's Mask cost the Society of Lincoln's Inn alone 1086*l.* 8*s.* 11*d.*; while the preparation of Beaumont's Mask occasioned an assessment upon the readers of Gray's Inn of 4*l.*; upon the ancients, of 2*l.* 10*s.*; upon

'James R.

'Right trusty, and right welbeloved Cousin and Councellor, we greet 'you well, and will and commaund you, that under our Privy Seale, 'you cause our Letters to be made forth in form following: — 'James, by the grace of God, &c. To the Commissioners for the ex- 'ercise of the office of our High Treasurer of England, and to the 'Treasurer and Undertreasurer of our Exchequer, for the time being, 'greeting. Whereas, we have resolved, and given speciall order and 'direction for a Maske to be provided against the solemnizing of the 'marriage betwene our dearest daughter the Lady Elizabeth, and the 'Prince Elector Palatyne of the Rhyne, and have referred the order 'and managing thereof unto the care of our right trusty, and right well 'beloved Cousins and Councillors, the Earle of Suffolk, our Chamber- 'len, and the Earle of Worcester, Master of our Horse, to looke into 'the emptions and provisions of all things necessary for the same. 'Theis shalbe, therefore, to will and require you to cause payment to be 'made from tyme to tyme, out of such our treasure as shall remayn in 'the receipt of our Exchequer, unto Inigo Jones, or to any other per- 'son or persons as shall either be employed in that service, or shall 'provide and furnish us with emptions, and other necessary provisions 'for the same, such somme and sommes of money as the said Lords 'shall, by letters under their hands, require you to pay. And these, '&c. Given at Westminster, the 7 day of January, in the 10th yeare 'of our raigne,' &c.

'Ex. per Lake.'

I may here add, on the authority of Harl. MS. No. 1857, the annual allowance for the office of the Surveyor of the Works, the situation at this time held by Inigo Jones. It is given in the following form:—

the barristers, of 2*l.*, and upon the students, of 1*l.* each *.

In consequence of this marriage, the players, who, until the death of Prince Henry, had acted under his name, transferred their services to the Prince Palatine; and it is a new feature in theatrical history, that on this occasion they procured a patent under the Great Seal, very similar to that which James I. had granted, about ten years before, to Laurence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, and the other servants of the Lord

THE WORKS.

			£.	s.	d.
Surveyor	Mr. Jones	Fee 36*l.* 2*s.* 0*d.* One Clarke at 6*d.* per day. Expenses when he writeth, at 6*d.* per day, estimated at 53*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Botehire, at 20*d.* per day, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*	222	5	2

* His expressions are the following:

'In the 10th of King James the gentlemen of the House were (together with those of the other Inns of Court) actors in that great Mask at Whitehall, at the marriage of the King's eldest daughter unto Frederick Count Palatine of the Rhene: the charge in apparel for the actors in which mask was supported by the Society, the Readers being each man assessed at 4*l.*; the Ancients, and such as at that time were to be called Ancients, at 2*l.* 10*s.* a-piece: the Barristers at 2*l.* a man; and the students at 20*s.*, out of which so much was to be taken as the Inner Temple did then allow.

'Which being performed, there was an order made 18 May then next following, that the gentlemen who were actors in that Mask should bring in all their masking apparel so provided at the charge of the House.' Dugdale's *Origin. Jurid.* 285.

Chamberlain. The Privy Seal directing the patent to be made out, is extant in the Chapter-house, Westminster, and is inserted below; the chief difference between that, and the Licence of the 19th May, 1603, being the insertion of a clause in the former, reserving to the Master of the Revels for the time being all his rights and powers. In this respect it more nearly resembled the precedent of the licence, originally granted to James Burbadge and others, in 1574*.

* It runs thus:—

'James R.

'Right trusty, and right welbeloved Cousin and Councellor, we 'greet you well, and will and commaund you, that under our Privy 'Seale you cause our letters to be addressed to our Chauncellor of 'England, commaunding him that under our great Seale of England 'he cause our letters to be made forth patents in forme following. 'James by the grace of God, &c. To all Justices, Mayors, Sherriffs, 'Bailiffs, Constables, Hedboroughes, and all other our officers and lov- 'ing subjects greeting. Know ye that we of our especiall grace, certaine 'knowledge and meere motion have licensed and authorised, and by theis 'presents do license and authorise Thomas Downton, William Bird, Ed- 'ward Juby, Samuell Rowle, Charles Massey, Humphrey Jeffs, Franck 'Grace, William Cartwright, Edward Colbrand, William Parr, William 'Stratford, Richard Gunnell, John Shanck and Richard Price, servants 'to our Sonne in lawe the Elector Palatine, and the rest of their asso- 'ciates, to use and exercise the art and facultie of playing Comedies, 'Tragedies, Histories, Enterludes, Moralls, Pastoralls, Stage Plaies and 'such other like as they have already studied, or hereafter shall use or 'study, as well for the recreation of our loving subjects, as for our solace 'and pleasure when we shall thinke good to see them, during our 'pleasure. And the said Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Enterludes, 'Moralls, Pastoralls, Stage Plaies, and such like, to shew and exercise 'publiquely to their best commoditie, as well within their now usual 'howse called the Fortune, within our County of Middlesex, as also

The actors thus forming the company of the Elector Palatine, were the following :—

Thomas Downton,
William Bird,
Edward Juby,

'within any Towne halls or Moute halls, or other convenient places 'within the libertie and freedome of any Citie, Universitie, Towne 'or Borough whatsoever within our realmes and dominions. Willing 'and commaunding you, and every of you, as you tender our pleasure, 'not onely to permit and suffer them herein without any your letts, hin- 'derances or molestations, during our said pleasure, but also to be 'aiding and assisting unto them, if any wrong be to them offered, and 'to allow them such former curtesies, as hath ben given to men of 'their place and quality; and also what further favour you shall shew 'unto them for our sake we shall take kindly at your hands. Provided 'alwaies, and our will and pleasure is, that all authoritie, power, priviledges 'and profitts whatsoever, belonging and properly appertaining to the 'Master of our Revells in respect of his office, and every clause, article 'or graunt conteyned within the letters patents or commission, which 'have heretofore ben graunted or directed to our welbeloved servant 'Sir George Buck, knight, Master of our said Revells, shall remaine 'and abide entire, and in full force and estate and virtue, and in as ample 'sort as if this our commission had never ben made. In witness 'whereof &c. And theis our letters shalbe your sufficient warrant and 'discharge in this behalf. Given under our Signet at our Pallace of 'Westminster, the fourth day of January, in the Tenth yeare of our 'Raigne of England, Fraunce and Ireland, and of Scotland the six 'and fortith.

'Ex. per Lake.'

Ex[d].

Addressed

'To our right trusty and right welbeloved Cousin and Counsellor 'Henry Earle of Northampton, keeper of our privy Seale.'—

Indorsed

'Count Palatine.

'Plaiers Commission.'

Samue Rowle[y],
Charles Massey,
Humphrey Jeffes,
Frank Grace,
William Cartwright,
Edward Colbrand,
William Parr,
William Stratford,
Richard Gunnell,
John Shanck, and
Richard Price,

besides 'their associates,' whose names are not inserted in the instrument. Thomas Towne, who, when they first became the servants of Prince Henry, was at the head of the company, had by this date either died or retired: Richard Price mentioned in the Patent, was probably Richard Pryore, who first joined the body in 1603, the name having been mis-written. William Cartwright and Richard Gunnell were new members, perhaps taken from some other company.

We have information of four performances at Court in Dec., 1613, and Jan. and Feb., 1613-14. The first was on St. Stephen's night, 26th Dec., when Campion's Mask, on the marriage of the Earl of Somerset with Frances, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, was presented. It was followed on the 29th Dec. by Ben Jonson's *Irish Mask*, and on Twelfth-night by the anonymous *Mask of Flowers*, exhibited by the society of Gray's Inn. Daniel's 'Pastoral Comedy' called *Hymen's Triumph*, on the marriage of Lord Roxburgh with Mrs. Drummond, was played

on the 3d Feb., 1613-14. Of the last, John Chamberlain thus speaks in a letter to Sir Dudley Carlton: 'The entertainment was great, and cost the Queen, 'they say, above 3000*l.*: the Pastoral by Samuel 'Daniel was solemn and dull, but perhaps better to 'be read than represented.'

In a note by Steevens upon *Much ado about Nothing*, it is said, that on the 20th of May, A. D. 1613, Hemmings, the player, (then at the 1613. head of the King's servants) received the sum of 40*l.*, and 20*l.* more as the King's gratuity, for exhibiting that play and five others at Hampton Court. The performances, probably, took place at Christmas and Shrovetide; but Steevens quotes no authority for his statement.

Malone* states, that *The Winter's Tale* was another of the plays performed at this season, and that 'it 'appears from the MSS. of Mr. Vertue, that *The* '*Tempest* was acted by John Hemminge, and the rest 'of the King's company, before Prince Charles, the 'Lady Elizabeth, and the Prince Palatine Elector in 'the beginning of the year 1613.'

Although Nathaniel Field's *Woman is a Weathercock* was played by the children of the Revels (*i. e.*, of the Queen's Revels) at Whitefriars prior to 1611, it seems, that shortly afterwards they were not in the sole or continued possession of that theatre. Taylor's *Hog hath Lost his Pearl*, which professes on the

* Shakespeare by Boswell, ii. 464.

title-page to have been 'acted by certain London Prentices,' was performed there early in 1613; and Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter dated Tuesday, but without the day of the month, and headed '1612-13,' gives the following account of the performance, and of the manner in which it was interrupted.

'On Sunday last, at night, and no longer, some 'sixteen Apprentices (of what sort you shall guess by 'the rest of the story) having secretly learnt a new 'play, without book, entitled *The Hog hath lost his 'Pearl**, took up the Whitefriars for their Theatre; 'and having invited thither (as it should seem) rather 'their Mistresses than their Masters, who were all to 'enter *per bulletini*, for a note of distinction from 'ordinary comedians, towards the end of the play the 'Sheriffs (who by chance had heard of it) came in (as 'they say), and carried some six or seven of them to 'perform the last act at Bridewell: the rest are fled.

* Steevens relies upon the last line of the prologue to this play to shew that 'Pericles' was not well received:—

'We'll say 'tis fortunate, like Pericles;'

adding, that a sneer was intended, and that 'to say a dramatic piece was *fortunate* is not to say it was *deserving*.' Malone, on the other hand, says, 'by fortunate, I understand highly successful;' but surely the point is settled at once by the following passage, not adverted to by either disputant, in Owen Feltham's 'Answer to an ode of Come leave the loathed Stage,' printed in his *Lusoria*, at the end of his *Resolves*, 1630.

——— 'They do throw a stain
'Through all the unlikely plot, and do *displease*
'As deep as *Pericles*.'

'Now, it is strange to hear how sharp-witted the City 'is, for they will needs have Sir John Swinnerton, the 'Lord Mayor, be meant by the *Hog*, and the late 'Lord Treasurer by the *Pearl**.'

Hence we learn, that the Apprentices 'took up,' or hired, the Whitefriars Theatre for the occasion, and that the audience was admitted, not upon payment of money at the doors, but by tickets and invitation. The interruption took place, probably, because the play reflected on Sir J. Swinnerton and the late Lord Treasurer, or, at least, such was the reason afterwards assigned for it. Yet, W. Smith's *Hector of Germany*, 1615, which was got up and acted by a company of citizens, who 'took up' the Curtain Theatre for the purpose, was dedicated to Sir J. Swinnerton, 'some time Lord Mayor of London,' as 'the great favourer of the Muses.'

About this period, for we have no means of fixing the date with precision, it seems that the Phœnix Theatre in Drury Lane was constructed, or rather converted from a Cockpit (a name which it also afterwards bore) into a play-house. Howes, in his continuation of Stow's Chronicle, speaking of it under date of March, 1616-17, says, that it had then been lately built; and Camden, in his Annals, calls it *nuper erectum*. It was a private theatre, like those in Blackfriars and Whitefriars, and it was occupied, as has been already remarked, by the Queen's players.

* Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 402, edit. 1672.

Malone (Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 53) expresses an opinion that they were subsequently named the Lady Elizabeth's players; but he was certainly mistaken, the Lady Elizabeth's players being a distinct company, in connection with Henslowe.

This undertaking, like some others, possibly arose out of the fire at the Globe on the Bankside, which occurred on the 29th of June, 1613, during the performance of a play called *All is True*, on the story of Henry VIII. It might be either Shakespeare's play, or Samuel Rowley's *When you see me you know me*, under a new name, or a different piece founded upon both productions. The details of this calamity are given in the separate history of that theatre, but it may be here worth while to subjoin, in a note, a ballad which was written upon the occasion, and which has been preserved in MS.* Howes, in his additions to Stow's Chronicle, referring to the disaster, mentions, that the Globe was rebuilt in the next spring, 'in far fairer manner than before,' and it was doubtless open through the summer of 1614.

The burning of the Globe seems also to have been the origin of another theatrical undertaking, which,

* Soon after the event 'a doleful ballad on the general conflagration of the famous Theatre on the Bankside, called the Globe,' was entered on the Stationers' books for publication, and it, perhaps, was the subjoined production, which was printed in the *Gent. Mag.*, vol. lxxxvi. p. 114. It is a very lame effusion, but it mentions some names of interest in the drama, *viz.*, Richard Burbage, Henry Condell, and John Hemmings, but not Shakespeare; which may afford some confirmation of the opinion, that he had retired from all concern with the theatre before it

perhaps, had for object the removal of the performance of plays from the theatres on the south side of the Thames. On the 13th of July, 1613, Sir George Buc received 20*l.*, as his fee for 'a licence to erect a new

was consumed. The burden of the ballad seems to have reference to the title of the play, which was in a course of performance at the time.

'A SONNETT UPON THE PITTIFULL BURNEING OF
'THE GLOBE PLAY-HOUSE IN LONDON.

'Now sitt thee downe, Melpomene,
'Wrapt in a sea-cole robe,
'And tell the dolefull tragedie,
'That late was play'd at *Globe*:
'For noe man that can singe or saye
'Was scard on St. Peter's daye.
'Oh sorrow, pittifull sorrow, and yet all this is true.

'All yow that please to understand,
'Come listen to my storye,
'To see Death with his rakeing brande
'Mongst such an auditorye:
'Regarding neither Cardinall's might,
'Nor yet the rugged face of Henry the eight.
'Oh sorrow, &c.

'This fearfull fire beganne above,
'A wonder strange and true,
'And to the stage-howse did remove,
'As round as Taylor's clewe;
'And burnt downe both beam & snagge,
'And did not spare the silken flagge.
'Oh sorrow, &c.

'Out runne the Knights, out runne the Lords,
'And there was great adoe,
'Some lost their hatts, & some their swords;
'Then out runne Burbidge too:
'The riprobates, thoughe drunke on munday,
'Pray'd for the Foole, and Henry Condye.
'Oh sorrow, &c.

playhouse in the Whitefriars*.' The old theatre there, which had been in existence prior to 1580, was, perhaps, in bad repair, and too small for the audiences it was hoped to attract after the burning of the Globe.

'The perry wigs & drumme heads frye,
'Like to a butter firkin:
'A wofull burneing did betide
'To many a good buffe jerkin.
'Then with swolne lipps, like drunken Flemmings,
'Distressed stood old stuttering Heminges.
'Oh sorrow, &c.

'Noe shower his raine did there downe force [q. sowse]
'In all that sunn-shine weather,
'To save that great renowned howse;
'Nor thou, O ale-house, neither.
'Had it begun belowe, sans doubte,
'Their wives for feare had p——d itt out.
'Oh sorrow, &c.

'Bee warned, you stage strutters all,
'Least yow againe be catched,
'And such a burneing doe befall,
'As to them whose howse was thatched:
'Forbeare your whoreing, breeding biles,
'And lay up that expense for tiles.
'Oh sorrow, &c.

'Goe drawe yow a petition,
'And doe yow not abhorr itt,
'And get, with low submission,
'A licence to begg for itt;
'In churches, sans churchwarden's checks,
'In Surrey and in Middlesex.
'Oh sorrow, pittifull sorrow, and yet all this is true.'

* Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels in 1623, was in possession of the Register kept by Sir George Buc, and from it transcribed into his own office-book the entry in question, apparently with a view of making it a precedent in his own favour, should he be required to favour any project of the same kind.

If this new theatre were then built, of which there is no farther evidence, it was some years afterwards rebuilt, and then called the Salisbury Court playhouse; but most likely the rapid, and perhaps unexpected reconstruction of the Globe interfered with the execution of this enterprise in Whitefriars in the summer of 1613.

The negociation of Henslowe in June, 1603, to renew the lease of the ground on which the Rose Theatre on the Bankside stood, has been mentioned. Whether it was, or was not renewed, it is certain, that before 1613 that playhouse, as well as the Swan and the Hope, had fallen into disuse. Of this fact, John Taylor, the Water-poet, affords distinct evidence in his *Watermans suit concerning Players*, where he states, that in 1612, the King's men at the Globe (of course before its destruction by fire) formed the only company that continued to play on the Bankside, those who occupied the other playhouses having crossed over the water to perform in Middlesex. As Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* was acted at the Hope, on the 31st of October, 1614, it is very likely that, having been closed as a regular theatre, it was re-opened after the Globe had been consumed, and that it was continued open some time after the Globe was rebuilt. It was at this period in the possession of 'the Lady Elizabeth's servants,' for so Ben Jonson, on the title-page of his play, calls them; and they were a distinct company from the Prince Palatine's servants, who, as we have seen, exhibited at the Fortune.

The catastrophe at the Globe appears to have led to a third theatrical project; for, about two months after it had happened, Philip Henslowe, and his co-proprietor Jacob Meade, entered into an agreement with one Katherens, a carpenter, for the pulling down and re-constructing Paris Garden, in order that it might be more conveniently used, not merely as a place for bull-baiting, bear-baiting, &c., but for the performance of dramatic productions. There is every reason to believe that this work was executed according to the proposed design.

In 1612 Henslowe was connected with the company called the Lady Elizabeth's servants, and they conceived that they had great reason to complain of him for oppression and various malpractices. The 'articles of grievance' drawn up by Joseph Taylor, who was then at the head of the company *, show that in March, 1612, the Lady Elizabeth's players had joined the performers called 'the Children of the Revels to the Queen,' under Philip Rosseter, and separated again in March, 1613. Henslowe then 'made up' a distinct company, which continued to perform (most likely at Paris Garden) until February, 1614, when Henslowe broke up the establishment by withdrawing some of the inferior performers, known by the term 'hired men,' who were paid weekly wages, and had no proportion or share of the receipts. It appears from this document, that the speculation had been a profitable one, and that Henslowe retired, be-

A. D. 1614.

* They were found at Dulwich College by Malone; but they are not preserved there now. See Shakespeare by Boswell, xxi. 416.

cause the company was rapidly getting out of his debt, by repaying from their receipts the sums he had advanced to them.

In one of John Chamberlain's letters to Sir Dudley Carlton (quoted by Mr. Nichols in his *Progresses of James I.*), dated the 5th of January, 1614-15, occurs a remarkable paragraph respecting the new plays acted at court, probably by the King's servants, which appear to have given little satisfaction:—'They have 'plays at court (he says) every night, both holidays 'and working days, wherein they show great patience, 'being for the most part such poor stuff, that instead 'of delight, they send the auditory away with dis-'content.' He then adds:—'Indeed our poets' brains 'and inventions are grown very dry, in so much, that 'of five new plays there is not one that pleases, and 'therefore they are driven to furbish over their old, 'which stand them in best stead, and bring them most 'profit.'

It is to be recollected, that at this date Shakespeare had retired from the stage about two years, according to the best evidence that can now be procured*. Three of his plays seem to have been performed at Christmas or Shrovetide, 1613-14, but we are entirely destitute of information what were the names of the plays represented in 1614-15, prior to the date of the letter of John Chamberlain. It is a remark by Mr. Nichols, that Chamberlain in the whole of his correspondence never mentions either the name of

* See Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, ii. 490.

Shakespeare, or the title of any of his productions; but he rather hastily concludes that this omission shows how little Shakespeare was thought of by his contemporaries*. Chamberlain only speaks of court-poets, and Shakespeare was never called upon to furnish any mask for the amusement of the King or Queen. What Sir Dudley Carlton's correspondent states regarding the tediousness of the new plays in 1614-15, and of the necessity of reviving older pieces, may not unfairly be taken as negative testimony of the superiority of Shakespeare to those who immediately succeeded him.

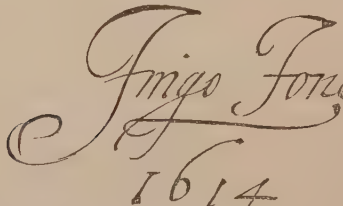
On twelfth-night, 1614-15, Ben Jonson's mask, called *Mercury Vindicated*, was performed†.

* Progr. of James I. iii. 26.

† Progr. of James I. iii. 60. The scenery and contrivances for this mask could not have been the invention of Inigo Jones, as in January, 1614-15, he was in Rome. In the library of the Duke of Devonshire is the original memorandum and sketch-book of Inigo Jones, while he was in Italy, all in his own handwriting, and in the best possible preservation: on the title-page is written,—

ROMA.

Altro diletto che imparar non trovo.



It is full of spirited and elaborate drawings in pen and ink, from pictures and statues, and it proves that the writer was a very accomplished artist. It is a most remarkable and highly valuable relic. This was

King James was at Cambridge early in the spring, and on the 9th of March, 1614-15 (after the performance of two Latin plays, *Æmilia* and *Ignoramus*, on the two previous days), saw Tomkis's *Albumazar:* John Chamberlain, in a letter to Sir Dudley Carlton, says, that it was 'of Trinity Colleges action and invention, but there was no great matter in it more than 'one good clown's part*.'

In 1615 we again hear of a company called the Prince's Players, meaning at this date the theatrical servants of Prince Charles. The company of Prince Henry, as has been noticed, became the players of the Prince Palatine on his marriage with the Lady Elizabeth, just after the death of Prince Henry. Joseph Taylor, who had been one of the Lady Elizabeth's servants early in 1614, was in the first instance at the head of the Prince's players in 1615, having, perhaps, joined after his separation from Henslowe. John Daniel seems likewise to have been an actor of some distinction in the same body, and on the 17th of July, 1615, in his capacity of one of the servants of Prince Charles,

the second visit of Inigo Jones to Italy: he left England in 1612, and did not return until 1615, which confirms Gifford in his total denial of any quarrel between Jones and Ben Jonson, on account of the supposed resemblance to the former of the character of Lanthorn Leatherhead, in the *Bartholomew Fair* of the latter.

* Among the expenses at Cambridge upon this occasion, in gifts, &c. to the followers and retainers of the court, as registered by Mr. Nichols, we read the following entry:—

'To the Kings poett . . . . 10*s.*'

It is not easy to settle to whom the bounty of the University was thus with such extravagant liberality extended.

obtained letters patent enabling him to bring up 'a 'company of children, and youths, in the quality of 'playing interludes and stage-plays.'

Ben Jonson's *Golden Age Restored* was twice exhibited during the festivities of Christmas, 1615-16, viz. on New Year's Day and Twelfth Day. Gifford says, that 'it must have been a splendid and 'interesting performance.' By a MS. in the Lansdown Collection, (the particular reference to which has been mislaid,) the charge of 528*l.* is made for the revels in this year; but as the expense of masks was usually entered among 'extraordinaries,' it is very doubtful whether it would include the cost of the first representation, and of the repetition of this mask.

The Master of the Revels usually exercised the power of granting to the players what were called 'Lenten Dispensations,' on the payment of a certain fee, in order to enable them to act in Lent on any day of the week excepting Tuesdays and Fridays, which were called Sermon Days. In March 1615-16, however, a special order was issued by the Lord Chamberlain, and communicated to the different companies through the Master of the Revels, expressly prohibiting any dramatic performances. This order was disobeyed, apparently, by all the companies; for on the 29th of March a warrant was issued by the Privy Council, commanding the leaders of several of them to make their appearance before it to answer for their misconduct. The persons summoned by name were John Hemmings, Richard Burbage, Christopher

Beeston, Robert Lee, William Rowley, John Newton, Thomas Downton, and Humphrey Jeffs; but as no entry is made in the register of their appearance on the day when they were required to attend, it is probable that their punishment was remitted on due submission being made to the Master of the Revels. All that appears upon the subject in the register of the Privy Council is inserted in a note *.

In this year also, as we learn from documents in the Chapter House, Westminster, and from the Register of the Privy Council, a design was on foot for constructing a second theatre in the liberty of the Blackfriars. A Privy Seal for a patent was granted to Philip Rosseter, Philip Kingman, Robert Jones, and Ralph Reeve, who had bought ground and buildings near Puddle-wharf, and particularly a dwelling called Lady Saunder's house, for the purpose. It was to be

* The entry bears date on the 29th of March, 1615.

'A warrant to John Sentie, one of the Messengers.

'Whereas John Hemmings, Richard Burbidge, Christopher Beeston, 'Robert Lee, William Rowley, John Newton, Thomas Downton, Hum-'phry Jeffs, with others, stageplayers in and about the Citty of London, 'have presumed, notwithstanding the commaundement of the Lo. Cham-'berlayne, signified unto them by the Master of the Revells, to play this 'prohibited time of Lent. Theese are therefore to will and commaund 'you to make your repayre unto the persons abovenamed, and to charge 'them in his Majesty's name to make their appearance heere before 'us, of his Majesty's Privie Counsell, on Friday next at 8 of the 'clocke in the forenoon, without any excuse or delay. And in the 'meane time that neither they, nor the rest of their company, presume to 'present any playes or interludes, as they will answere the contrary at 'their perills.'

occupied by the children of the Revels to the Queen, by the Prince's players, and by the Lady Elizabeth's players, with which last company, after the retirement of Henslowe, Rosseter had again joined himself. The Privy Seal * was in the following terms:

'Right trusty and right welbeloved Cousin and 'Councellor, we greet you well, and will and com-'maund you, that under our Privy Seale, being in 'your custody for the time being, you cause our 'letters to be addressed to our Chauncellor of Eng-'land, commaunding him that under our Great Seale 'of England he cause our letters to be made forth 'patents in form following,—James, by the grace of 'God, kinge of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and 'Ireland, Defendor of the faith, &c. To all Mayors, 'Sherriffs, Justices of peace, Bailiffs, Constables, 'Headboroughs, and to all other our officers, Minis-'ters, and loving subjects, to whom theis presents shall 'come, greeting. Whereas wee, by our letters pattents 'sealed with our great seale of England, bearing date 'the fourth daie of January, in the seaventh yere of 'our raigne of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, and 'of Scotland the three and fortieth (for the conside-'rations in the same letters patents expressed), did 'appoint and authorise Phillip Rosseter, and certaine 'others, from time to time to provide, keepe, and bring

* This important original document escaped the researches of Chalmers, who, however, obtained from the Privy Council some extracts relating to it, which showed that a patent under the Great Seal had been made out in consequence of it.

'up a convenient number of children, and them to 'practise and exercise in the quallitie of playing, by the 'name of Children of the Revells to the Queene, within 'the Whitefryers, in the subburbes of our Cittie of 'London, or in any other convenient place where they, 'the said Phillip Rosseter and the rest of his partners, 'should thinke fitting for that purpose, as in and by the 'said letters pattents more at large appeareth. And 'whereas the said Phillip Rosseter, and the rest of his 'said partners have ever since trayned and practized 'a convenient nomber of Children of the Revells for 'the purpose aforesaid in a messuage or mansion house, 'being percell of the late dissolved Monastery called 'the Whitefryers, neere Fleete Streete in London, 'which the said Phillip Rosseter did lately hold for 'terme of certeine yeres expired: and whereas the 'said Phillip Rosseter, together with Phillipp King-'man, Robert Jones and Raph Reeve to continue the 'said service for the keeping and bringing up of 'children, to the solace and pleasure of our said most 'deare wife, and the better to practize and exercise 'them in the quallitie of playing by the name of the 'Children of the Revells to the Queene, have lately 'taken in lease and farme divers buildings, cellers, 'sollars, chambers and yards, for the building of a 'play-house thereupon for the better practizing and 'exercise of the said Children of the Revells, all which 'premisses are sittuat and being within the precinct of 'the Blackfryers neere Puddlewharfe, in the subourbes 'of London, called by the name of the Ladie Saunders

'house, or otherwise Porters Hall, and now in the 'occupation of the said Robert Jones. Now know 'yee, that wee of our especiall grace, certeyne know-'ledge, and meere motion have given and graunted, 'and by theis presents, for us our heires and successors, 'doe give and graunt licence and authoritie unto the 'said Phillipp Rosseter, Phillipp Kingman, Robert 'Jones and Raph Reeve, at their proper costs and 'chardges, to erect build and sett up, in and upon 'the said premisses before mentioned, one convenient 'Playhouse for the said Children of the Revells, the 'same Playhouse to be used by the Children of the 'Revells for the time being of the Queenes Majestie, 'and for the Princes Players, and for the Ladie Eliza-'beth's Players, soe tollerated or lawfully licenced to 'plaie exercise and practise them therein, any Lawe, 'Statute, Act of Parliament, restraint, or other matter 'or thing whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. 'Willing and commanding you, and every of you, our 'said Maiors, Sherriffs, Justices of peace, Bailiffs, 'Constables, Headborroughs, and all other our officers 'and Ministers for the time being, as ye tender our 'pleasure, to permit and suffer them therein without 'any your letts, hinderance, molestation, or dis-'turbance whatsoever. In witness whereof &c. Given 'under our Signet, at our Mannour of Greenewich, 'the last day of May in the thirteenth yeare of our 'raigne &c.'

'Ex. per Lake.'

The grant of this patent occasioned not a little con-

fusion; and there is ground for concluding, that it had been conceded incautiously, consequence of private influence. It does not seem that Rosseter and his co-undertakers proceeded immediately to act upon it, for, although dated in the spring, it was not attempted to carry it into effect until the autumn. They then began to pull down the house of Lady Saunders, and to commence building the new theatre very close to the Church of St. Anne. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen took the alarm, and represented to the Privy Council, among other things, that the near neighbourhood of the playhouse would interfere with the performance of divine worship in the Church. Rosseter was accordingly required to return his letters-patent, and it was thought a matter of sufficient moment to be referred to Lord Chief Justice Coke, who reported that the grant extended 'to the building of a playhouse '*without* the liberties of London, and not *within* the 'city'—a manifest injustice, inasmuch as the very spot to be occupied was mentioned in the Privy Seal above quoted. On the 26th of September, 1615, therefore, the Privy Council issued an order, that no such theatre should be there constructed, and that the Lord Mayor should imprison any person who offered to proceed with it. Nevertheless (perhaps on the strength of the patronage which had, in the first instance, procured the licence, or because a Lord Mayor peculiarly hostile to the drama went out of office in the interval, and was succeeded by a chief magistrate of a different opinion) Rosseter persevered in his design, and by the

26th of January, 1616-17, the building, to use the words of the Privy Council, was 'almost, if not fully, finished.' In order to give greater effect to the command to prevent the erection of a new theatre, the King's authority was now employed, and the Lord Mayor was written to on the day abovenamed in these terms: 'You shall understand that his Majesty hath 'this day expressly signified his pleasure, that the 'same [playhouse] shall be pulled down, so as it be 'made unfit for any such use: whereof we require 'your Lordship to take notice, and to cause it to be 'performed with all speed, and thereupon to certify us 'of your proceedings.'

Chalmers doubted whether the order had been enforced, and the new playhouse demolished, because, although he consulted the registers of the Privy Council, he did not find any entry stating that the Lord Mayor had certified the execution of the King's command*. The city authorities proceeded immediately to the work, and before three days had elapsed, the Privy Council was duly and formally made acquainted with the fact, that Rosseter's Theatre had been 'made unfit for any such use' as that for which it had been designed.

On Twelfth-night, 1616-17, the *Mask of Christmas* by Ben Jonson was performed, and it was repeated on the 19th of January. In the Lansdown MS. last cited, we find an entry of 'Mr. Sadler for the Masque, 400*l*.' which no doubt was for these exhibitions.

* Apology for the Believers, p. 464.

James I. commenced his journey to Scotland on the 14th of March, 1616-17; and very shortly A. D. previous to his departure an event occurred 1616-17. in theatrical history, which seems to have excited considerable alarm for the tranquillity of the metropolis during his absence. On Shrove Tuesday, March 4th, some riots occurred in Lincoln's Inn Fields (then an open space, unoccupied by houses) and in Drury-lane, where the mob, among whom the apprentices appear, as usual, to have been especially active, made an attack upon the Cockpit theatre. Camden, in his Annals, states that they pulled it down, and destroyed the wardrobe*; but, according to the account of this circumstance in the Privy Council Register, which was drawn up on the following day, the mob only 'attempted to pull it down.' However, there is no doubt that they did very considerable damage, and that several lives were lost in the affray. The apprentices of London from time immemorial had claimed, or at least exercised, the right of attacking and demolishing houses of ill-fame on Shrove Tuesday†, and in this instance they carried their zeal for morals a degree farther. The most circumstantial account of this transaction is contained in an old ballad on the occa-

* His words are, under the date of March 4, 1616-17:—'*Theatrum 'ludionum, nuper erectum in Drury-lane, à furente multitudine diruitur, 'et apparatus dilaceratur.*'

† The Bawd, in *Eastward Hoe*, Act IV. Scene 3, complains that 'the prentices had made a riot upon her glass windows upon Shrove-tuesday;' and, in a note, the Rev. Mr. Dyce, in his excellent edition of

sion, which I copy from a contemporary MS., and which is written with a good deal of spirit. Hence it would seem, that the principal injury done was to the doors and windows of the playhouse, and to the dresses and playbooks belonging to the company. Two of the leaders of the mob, Thomas Brent and John Cory, are mentioned by name, and they were no doubt among those who were soon afterwards severely punished. The ballad is entitled :—

'A Ballade in praise of London Prentices, and what they
'did at the Cock-pitt Playhouse in Drury Lane.

'The Prentices of London long
'Have famous beene in story,
'But now they are exceeding all
'Their Chronicles of glory:
'Looke back, some say, to other day,
'But I say looke before ye,
'And see the deed they have now done,
'Tom Brent and Johnny Cory.

'Tom Brent said then to his merry men,
'"Now whoop, my men, and hollow,
'And to the Cockpitt let us goe,
'I'll leade you like brave Rollow*."

Webster's Works, gives the following apposite quotation from *Pasquil's Palinodia*, 1634 :—

'It was the day, of all days in the year,
'That unto Bacchus hath his dedication,
'When mad-brain'd 'prentices, that no men feare,
'Oerthrew the dens of bawdy recreation.'

Nothing could be easier than to multiply proofs to the same effect, were it necessary.

* If the hero thus alluded to be Rollo, Duke of Normandy, it would prove, either that Fletcher's play was written considerably before the

'Then Johnny Cory answerd straight,
'In words much like Apollo:
'"Lead, Tommy Brent, incontinent,
'And we'll be sure to follow."

'Three score of these brave Prentices,
'All fit for workes of wunder,
'Rushd down the plaine of Drury Lane,
'Like lightning and like thunder;
'And there each dore, with hundreds more,
'And windows burst asunder;
'And to the tire-howse broke they in,
'Which some began to plunder.

'"Now hold your handes, my merry men,"
'Said Tom, "for I assure ye,
'Who so begin to steale shall win
'Mee both for judge and jury;
'And eke for executioner
'Within this lane of Drury:
'But teare and rend, I'll stand your frend,
'And well upholde your fury."

'King Priam's robes were soon in rags,
'And broke his gilded scepter;
'False Cressid's hood, that was so good
'When loving Troylus kept her*.
'Besse Brydges gowne, and Muli's crowne,
'Who would ful faine have lept her†:

date at which it is supposed to have been first produced, or that the story on which it was founded was well known before he employed it for his purpose.

* This might be Shakespeare's play, acted surreptitiously at the Cockpit, as it was the property of the King's servants: possibly it was a different play on the same subject.

† Bess Bridges and Muli-sheg are characters in Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West*, which was not printed until 1631, though written, as

'Had Theseus seene them use his queene
'So ill, he had bewept her *.

'Books olde and young on heap they flung,
'And burnt them in the blazes,
'Tom Dekker, Haywood, Middleton
'And other wandring crazyes †:
'Poor Daye that daye not scapte awaye;
'And what stil more amazes,
'Immortall Cracke ‡ was burnt all blacke,
'Which every bodie praises.

'Now sing we laude with one accord
'To these most *digni laude*,
'Who thus intend to bring to end
'All that is vile and bawdie.
'All playes and whores, thrust out a'dores,
'Seductive bothe and gawdie,
'And praise wee these bold Prentices
'*Cum voce et cum corde.*'

The damage to the theatre was probably not very extensive; and we soon afterwards find the company called the Queen's servants again performing there §.

can be proved from internal evidence, before the death of Elizabeth. It was acted, no doubt, at this date at the Cockpit.

* Probably alluding to Heywood's *Silver Age*, printed in 1613, in which Theseus is introduced.

† This line may allude to their strolling with companies round the country, or to their 'wandering' with their plays from theatre to theatre, sometimes writing for one company and sometimes for another, as they could procure purchasers.

‡ Regarding this person or play, whichever it might be, I can give no information.

§ The following is an extract from a letter, sent by the Privy Council to the Lord Mayor on the day following the disturbance. It was originally quoted by Chalmers from the Registers. 'For as much as

During the absence of the King, the Queen was entertained at Greenwich, on the 4th of May, by a mask called *Cupid's Banishment*, written by a person of the name of Robert White, and 'presented to the 'Queen by the young gentlewomen of the Ladies Hall, 'in Deptford.' It was probably a performance by a girls' school, and the piece (from a MS. in the possession of Mr. Upcott) is printed by Mr. Nichols in the *Progresses of James I.*

'the example of so foul and insolent a disorder may prove of danger-'ous consequence, if this should escape without sharp punishment of 'the principal offenders, we do therefore, in his Majesty's name, ex-'pressly require your Lordship, and the rest of the Commissioners of 'Oyer and Terminer for the City of London and County of Middlesex, 'to take it presently into your care to have a strict enquiry made for 'such as were of the company, as well apprentices or others, and for 'which to hold a special Sessions of Oyer and Terminer for that pur-'pose, and there with severity to proceed against such as shall be 'found offenders, as to law and justice appertaineth.' The letter then proceeds to direct the City authorities to take measures for the removal and punishment of the 'great multitude of vagrant rogues' who had assisted in this riot. The date of it is March 5th, 1616-17.

ANNALS OF THE STAGE,

FROM THE YEAR 1617 TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF JAMES I.

THE fondness of James for theatrical performances can scarcely be evidenced more strongly than by the fact that he was attended, during his journey to the North, by a regular company of players (probably those which were especially called the King's servants *), and that the children of the Chapel, and a number of musicians, also formed part of his retinue †. While he was still in Scotland, a warrant was issued for the

* It will be seen hereafter, that 'his Majesty's comedians' were required to attend Charles I. in his progress in 1636; and, perhaps, the instance before us was then taken as a precedent.

† Arthur Wilson, in his 'Life and Reign of James I.,' thus speaks of the King's progress to his northern dominions:—'He begins his 'journey with the spring, warming the country as he went with the 'glories of the court: taking such recreations by the way as might 'best beguile the days and cut them shorter, but lengthen the nights '(contrary to the seasons), for what with hawking, hunting, and horse-'racing, the days ran quickly away; and the nights with feasting, 'masking, and dancing were the more extended. And the King had 'fit instruments for these sports about his person, as Sir George Goring, 'Sir Edward Zouch, Sir John Finnit and others, that could fit and 'obtemperate the King's humour; for he loved such representations 'and disguises in their masqueradoes as were witty and sudden: the 'more ridiculous the more pleasant.'

payment of the players, which is thus noticed in the registers of the Privy Council:—

'11th July, 1617.

'A warrant to the L. Stanhope, Treasurer of his 'Majesties Chamber, to cause payment to be made to 'certaine players for three Stage Playes, that were 'acted before his Majestie in his journey to Scotland, 'such summes of money as is usual in the like kinde.'

The fact that James was also accompanied by the children of the Chapel, and 'singing men,' appears from a satirical and abusive account of Scotland, written by some person who attended the King in his journey, and preserved among the Harleian MSS.* It is there said, that the Scotch had prevailed upon some of the children of the Chapel 'to eat oat-cakes for the maintenance of their voices,' and that a party of the royal 'singing men' had arrived by sea. It is asserted of the Scotch generally, in reference to our subject, that 'they hold their nose if you talk of bear-baiting, and stop their ears if you talk of plays,' and the production ends with these words:—'To conclude, 'I am fully persuaded, that if Christ and his Angels 'at the last day should come down in their white gar-'ments, they (the Scotch) would run away and cry, '"The Children of the Chapel are come again to tor-'ment us! Let us flee from the abomination of these 'boys, and hide us in the mountains!"'

The Marquis d'Ancre was killed in Paris, in the

* MSS. Harl., No. 444.

middle of April, 1617, and in June an attempt was made to bring that event upon the stage in London. Of this circumstance the Privy Council, during the absence of the King, obtained information, and the following letter was written by that body to Sir George Buc, Master of the Revels :—

'June 22nd, 1617.

'Wee are informed that there are certeyne Players, 'or Comedians, we know not of what Company, that 'goe about to play some enterlude concerning the late 'Marquesse d'Ancre, which for many respects wee 'thinke not fitt to be suffered. Wee doe therefore 'require you, upon your perill, to take order that the 'same be not represented or played in any place about 'this Citty, or elsewhere where you have authoritie. 'And hereof have you a speciall care.'

The King returned to London on the 15th of September, and the brother of Lord Buckingham was married to the daughter of Sir Edward Coke at Hampton Court in presence of the King, with all solemnity, on the 29th of the same month. We hear nothing of any theatrical performances on the occasion, and the deficiency might arise from the want of time to make preparations*,

* From the following passage in Dugdale's *Origin. Jurid.*, p. 285, it appears that in the autumn, soon after his return, the King was entertained with Barriers at the expense of the Society of Gray's Inn.

'In 14 Jac. (17th October), it was ordered that every Reader, an-'cient Barrister, and other gentleman that should be in town between 'that time, and the end of Hilary Term then next following, or who then

In a letter from John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carlton, dated January 1st, 1617-18, we read the following paragraph respecting the entertainments at Court at that season:—'The Muscovy 'Ambassadors shall be feasted at Court to-morrow, 'and on Twelfth-night is the Prince's Mask. There 'was a Mask of nine Ladies in hand at their own cost, 'whereof the principal was the Lady Hay, as Queen of 'the Amazons, accompanied by her sister, the Lady 'Dorothy, Sir Robert and Sir Henry Rich's ladies, 'Mistress Isabella Rich, Mistress West, the Lord de 'la War's daughter, Mistress Barbary Sidney, Sir 'Humphrey May's lady, and the Lady Cave, daughter 'of Sir Herbert Croftes. They had taken great pains 'in continual practising, and were almost perfect, and 'all their implements provided; but whatsoever the 'cause was, neither the King nor the Queen did like 'or allow of it, and so all is dashed.' Notwithstanding this disappointment, Ben Jonson's *Vision of Delight*, which Chamberlain calls 'the Prince's Mask,' was performed on Twelfth-night with great applause, and repeated on Shrove Tuesday, according to Chamberlain, 'with alterations and additions, but little bettered.' The printed copy (which came from the press in 1640, and not in 1641, as Mr. Gifford states) bears no marks A. D. 1618.

'had any chamber in the House, either of the House or by lease or 'otherwise, should pay towards the Barriers, intended to be presented 'to his Majesty, after these rates and proportions, *viz.*, every Reader 'or Ancient of the Bench, 40*s.*; every Ancient under the Bench, 30*s.*; 'every Barrester, 20*s.*; and every other Gentleman, 13*s.* 4*d.*'

of these alterations and additions: it would not have been easy to 'better' this beautiful production by any changes. The Prince, as we are also told by Chamberlain, was a chief actor in it, and it was his 'first exercise in that kind.' By the Lansdown MS., before quoted (to which I have mislaid the particular reference), it is seen that 750*l.* were issued to a person of the name of Leach for preparations for *The Vision of Delight*.

The disturbances at Shrovetide 1616-17 were not forgotten at the return of that season in February, 1617-18; and the Privy Council appears to have been thrown into considerable alarm by information transmitted to it, that the apprentices, and others, were determined to revenge the fate of their last year's companions, who had been punished according to law, and had concerted a plan, by 'casting libels into playhouses,' to collect a body, and to proceed first to the Fortune, then to the Red-Bull, and afterwards to the Cockpit, in order to raze and destroy them. Letters were accordingly written on the 11th of February, 1617-18, to the Magistrates of Middlesex, and to the Lord Mayor, requiring them to be upon their guard, in order to quell any riotous disposition, and to preserve the peace of the metropolis. The communication to the former is subjoined in a note *.

* 'A letter to his Majesty's Lieutenants of the County of Middlesex.

'It is well knowne unto you what disorder and tumult was comitted 'the last Shrove Tuesday, in divers partes about the Cittie, by the 'Apprentices and other leude and ill affected persons, to the great disturb-

The patent to John Daniell in 1615, giving him authority to bring up a company of youths as actors, has already been mentioned: it was followed in April, 1618, by what is termed, in the indorsement of the original in the State Paper Office, 'a letter of assistance,' on the ground, that the previous patent had been 'oppugned and resisted,' but in fact to authorise Daniell to assign his patent to others, if he thought fit, and to give authority to Martin Slatier *, A. D. 1618.

'ance of his Majesty's peace, and the hurt of many poore men. And 'though divers of the offenders were comitted to Newgate, and proceeded 'withall at the Session according to lawe; yet they are so farre from 'being warned by that example, as they rather take occasion thereby, in 'regarde that some of their fellowes were in danger and punished the last 'yeare, to cast seditious lybells into Playhouses, in the name of some 'London fellowes, apprentices, to summon others in the skirts and con-'fynes to meete at the Fortune, and after that to goe to the Play-'houses, the Redd Bull and the Cockpitt, which they have designed to 'rase and pull downe, besides what further mischiefe may ensue there-'upon, to the scandall of Government, and the great contempt of his 'Majesty's lawes. For prevention whereof wee thinke it very expedient, 'as wee have addressed our letters to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen 'of the Cittie of London, soe to require you, by virtue of his Majesty's 'Commission of Lieutenancy directed unto you, to take the like order 'upon Shrove Tuesday next as you did upon May Day last, by setting 'good and substanciall watches in such places as shall be meete, and by 'appointing some of the trayned Bandes to be mustered and trayned 'that day, in such convenient places in the skirtes and confynes of the 'Cittie as may serve for the suppressing of any ryott or tumulte, that 'may happen by the disorder of such leude people. Whereof we require 'you to have especiall care, &c.'

* Martin Slatier was probably the same person whose name often occurs in Henslowe's Diary, as Martin Slater, and Martin Slaughter. He was an author as well as an actor, and the earliest entry regarding him or his productions, bears date in May, 1595.

John Edmonds, Nathaniel Clay, and others, who are termed 'her Majesty's servants,' to proceed to different parts of the kingdom, under the designation of 'her Majesty's servants of her royal Chamber of Bristol,' and to act in any play-houses, school-houses and other convenient places, provided they did not continue in any one place for more than fourteen days, and refrained from playing on the Sabbath during Divine service. Chalmers printed this document *, but from an imperfect and incorrect copy, and it is subjoined literally in a note †. We do not in any

* Apology, p. 365.

† 'Aprill, 1618. Copie of a lre in the behalf of John Daniell, to 'bringe up youthes in qualitie of plaieinge of enterludes.

'After our harty comendations. Whereas it pleased his Ma^tie by 'his Lrs Patents under the Great Seale of England, bearing date the 'xvij^th daie of Julie in the xiii yeare of his Highnes Raine, to grant 'unto John Daniell, gent. (the Prince his servant) auctboritie to bring 'upp a companie of Children and youthes in the quallitie of playing 'Enterludes and Stage plaies. And wee are informed, that notwith-'standing his Ma^ties pleasure therein, that there are some who oppugne 'and resist the said auctboritie in contempt of his Ma^ties Lrs Patents.

'In consideration whereof, and for the further effecting and perform-'ance of his Ma^ties pleasure therein, We have thought good to grant 'unto the said John Daniell these our Lrs of Assistance, thereby 'requiring you, and in his Ma^ties name straightly chardging and com-'maunding you and every of you, not only quietly to permit and suffer 'Martin Slatier, John Edmonds and Nathaniell Clay (her Ma^ties ser-'vants) with their Associatts, the bearers hereof, to play as aforesaid '(as her Ma^ties servants of her Royall Chamber of Bristoll) in all 'Playhouses, Townehalls, Schoolehouses and other places convenient 'for the purpose, in all Cities, Universities, Townes, and Burroughes 'within his Ma^ties Realmes and Dominions, freely and peaceably without 'any of your letts, trobles or molestations. But as occasion shall be

subsequent instrument find mention of a company of the same name, and it probably had a very brief existence.

It was on the 24th of May, in this year, that the King put forth the celebrated Declaration 'concerning lawful sports to be used upon Sundays, 'after evening prayers ended, and upon holidays.' It recited, that during his late progress through Lancashire, he had found it necessary to 'rebuke some Puritans and precise people,' who wished to prohibit 'lawful recreations, and honest exercises upon Sundays, 'and other holidays;' and it proceeds to allow dancing by both sexes, archery, leaping, vaulting, 'or any such harmless recreation:' the only portion immediately connected with our subject is the prohibition of what are termed 'unlawful games' on Sundays, such as bull and bear-baitings, interludes and bowling. 'Interludes' is here used as a generic term for all theatrical representations.

Ben Jonson's *Pleasure reconciled to Virtue*, was the

'offered (they or any of them having to showe his Lrs Patents, and a 'Letter of Assignment from the said John Daniell) to be lykewise aiding and assisting unto them, they behaving of themselves civilly and 'orderly, lyke good and honest subjects, and doing nothing therein contrary to the tenour of his Ma^ties said Lrs Patents, nor staying to play 'in any one place above foureteene daies together, and the tymes of 'Divine Service on the Saboth daies only excepted.

'Whereof faile you not at your perilles. Given at the Court at 'Whitehall, &c.

'To all Maiors, Sheriffes, Bayliffs, Constables, and 'other his Ma^ties Officers and Liege Subjects, to 'whome it may belong, or in any wise appertaine.'

Mask on Twelfth-day 1618-19: it was performed again on Shrove Tuesday, with the addition of the antimask called *For the Honour of Wales*. A Privy Seal, extant in the Chapter House, shows that on the 3rd of December, 400*l.* were issued from the Exchequer to Edward Leech to enable him to make preparations.

A. D. 1619.

The Corporation of London, having succeeded in 1615 and 1616 in preventing the erection of a new theatre in the Blackfriars by Rosseter, in 1618-19 endeavoured to suppress the old one, which had been in existence since the year 1576. On the 21st of January, 1618-19, the Lord Mayor, Harvey, issued an order reciting the representations made by the inhabitants of the precinct in 1596, the directions of the Privy Council in 1600 (limiting the number of theatres in and near London to only two), and proceeding to state, that notwithstanding the steps thus taken, 'the owner' of the Blackfriars theatre, 'under 'the name of a private house, hath converted the same 'into a public playhouse, into which there is daily so 'great a resort of people, and so great multitudes of 'coaches, wherof many are hackney coaches bringing 'people of all sorts, that sometimes all the streets can-'not contain them.' The Lord Mayor, therefore, of his own authority, took upon himself to command, 'that the said playhouse be suppressed, and that the 'players shall from henceforth forbear and desist from 'playing in that house, in respect of the manifold 'abuses and disorders complained of.'

The theatre had been originally built in the liberty of the Blackfriars, because it was out of the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor; and that this exercise of civic authority was not attended with any effect, is obvious, not merely from the fact that more than ten years afterwards the inhabitants of Blackfriars found it necessary to petition the Bishop of London on the subject, but from the discovery, in the State Paper Office, of a Patent under the Great Seal, dated 27th of March, 1619-20, in which the King licenses his 'well-beloved servants to act, not only at 'the Globe on the Bankside, but at their private 'house situate in the precincts of the Blackfriars.' It would almost seem as if this new patent (a revival of that granted to Fletcher, Shakespeare, and others, on the 19th of May, 1603) had been conceded for the express purpose of deciding the right of the King's players to act at the Blackfriars theatre. It follows very much the terms of the licence of the same kind granted to the Prince's players at the Fortune in 1612-13, omitting, however, the clause reserving the authority of the Master of the Revels, and inserting a precautionary provision against performing when the deaths by the plague exceeded forty in the week. The names of the principal members of the company at this date were these*:—

A. D. 1619-20.

* As Joseph Taylor, who was afterwards associated with Hemming, as leader of the King's company, is not mentioned in the instrument, we may infer that, at this date, he continued at the head of the players of Prince Charles.

John Hemmings,
Richard Burbage,
Henry Condell,
John Lowen,
Nicholas Tooley,
John Underwood,
Nathan[iel] Field,
Robert Benfield,
Robert Gough,
William Ecclestone,
Richard Robinson, and
John Shancks.

The existence of any such patent was unknown to Malone and Chalmers, and it is added in a note*.

* 'James R.

'James by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France 'and Ireland, defender of the faith &c. To all Justices, Mayors, Sheriffs, 'Constables, Headborowes, and other our officers and loving subjects 'greeting. Knowe yee that Wee of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, 'and meere motion have lycensed and authorized, and by theis presents 'doe lycence and authorize, theis our welbeloved servants, John Hemings, 'Richard Burbadge, Henry Condall, John Lowen, Nicholas Tooley, 'John Underwood, Nathan Feild, Robert Benfield, Robert Gough, 'William Ecclestone, Richard Robinson and John Shancks, and the 'rest of their Associates, freely to use and exercise the Art and Facultie 'of playing Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Enterludes, Moralls, Pas-'toralls, Stage playes and such other like, as they have already studied, 'or hereafter shall use or studie, as well for the recreation of our loving 'subjects, as for our solace and pleasure when wee shall think good to 'see them, during our pleasure. And the said Comedies, Tragedies, 'Histories, Enterludes, Moralls, Pastoralls, Stage-plaies and such like, 'to show and exercise publiquely or otherwise to their best comoditie, 'when the infection of the plague shall not weekely exceed the nomber 'of fortie by the certificate of the Lord Mayor of London for the time 'being, as well within theis two their now usuall Houses called the Globe

It is not known who was employed to write the Mask for 1619-20, when Ben Jonson was in Scotland; but, according to an extract from a letter by Drummond of Hawthornden (published by Gifford, *Ben Jonson's Works*, vii. 352), it did not give satisfaction:—'I have heard from court, that the late Mask 'was not so approved of by the King, as in former 'times, and that your absence was regretted. Such 'applause hath true worth, even of those who are 'otherwise not for it.' By a letter from John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carlton, it also appears, that 'plays' were acted this year at court, and although no

'within our Countie of Surrey and their private House scituate in the 'precincts of the Blackfriers within our Citty of London, as also with-'in any Towne Halls, or Moute-halls, or other convenient places within 'the liberties and freedom of any other Cittie, Universitie, Towne, or 'Burrough whatsoever within our said Realmes and Domynions. 'Willing and commaunding you and every of you, and all our loving 'subjects, as you tender our pleasure, not only to permit and suffer them 'herein without any your letts, hinderances or molestations during our 'said pleasure, but also to be ayding and assisting to them, if any 'wrong be to them offred, and to allow them such former curtesies as 'hath byn given to men of their place and qualitie. And also what 'further favour you shall shew to theis our Servants and the rest of 'their Associates for our sake, we shall take kindly at your hands. 'In witness wherof &c.

'Pembroke.

'By order from the Lord
'Chamberlin of y^r Ma^ties Houshold,
'Ex^t Levynus Munck.'

It is indorsed,

'Expedit apud Westm^r vicessimo septimo die Martij, Anno D. Regis 'Jacobi decimo septimo.

'Per Windebank.'

record of the fact may remain, there is no doubt that the King's servants and perhaps other performers were called upon to lend their aid in varying the royal amusements. Chamberlain says:—'The King came 'to town the day before Christmas eve, and there hath 'little passed in court besides plays and revels.' He does not make any particular mention of the Mask, nor of its reception.

For the sake of convenience, and of juxta-position, it may be mentioned here, although a little out of its place, that Ben Jonson wrote the Mask for Christmas 1620-21, and called it *News from the New World in the Moon*. It was, as usual, presented twice, at Twelfth-tide and Shrovetide. On the 8th of January, the King was present at a Mask at Lord Doncaster's*.

It is necessary now to revert briefly to the office of the Revels. Sir George Buc became Master of the Revels in 1610; and in 1612, Sir John Astley obtained a grant of the reversion of the office, on the death of Sir George Buc: in September, 1621, Ben Jonson also obtained a grant of the reversion, on the several demises of Sir George Buc and Sir John Astley. The Privy Seal for this purpose, in a very mutilated condition and much injured by damp, is still preserved in the Chapter-house, Westminster, and,

* It may be worth notice that, at this date, the wages of Thomas Mell, 'one of the Musicians for the flutes' (who succeeded Peter Edney, who had been a flute-player to Queen Elizabeth) were 44*l.* per annum; with an allowance of 16*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* yearly for 'apparel and liveries.' This fact appears from a Privy Seal dated 4th of April, 1620.

unlike most other instruments of the same kind, as if in compliment to the learning of the grantee, it is in Latin*.

In the spring of 1622 Sir George Buc appears to have been so ill and infirm as to be unable to discharge the duties of his situation; and on the 2d of May of that year a patent was made out, appointing Sir John Astley Master of the Revels. As this instrument gives more full and circumstantial information regarding the duties and powers of the Master of the Revels, than is to be collected from any other source, it is printed at length below†.

* On the 29th of July, 1622, a patent was granted under the Great Seal to William Payneter, Esq., for the reversion of the Mastership of the Revels after the deaths of Sir John Astley and Benjamin Jonson, gent. To this instrument, in the State Paper Office, is appended the opinion of the then Attorney General, Thomas Coventry, that it was 'agreable in substance with the former patents.' The patent is in English.

† The original of the following is in the Chapter House, Westminster:—

'James by the grace of God, &c. To all and singular Justices, Maiors, 'Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Constables, and all other our officers, ministers, 'true liege men and subjects, and to every of them, greeting. Wee 'lett you witt that wee have authorised, licenced and commaunded, and 'by these presents do authorise, licence and commaund our welbeloved 'servant S^r John Ashley, Knight, Master of our Revells, as well to take 'and retaine for us and in our name, at all times from hencefoorth, and in all places within this our realme of England as well within franchises and liberties as without, at competent wages, as well all such 'and as many Painters, Embroderers, Taylors, Cappers, Haberdashers, 'Joyners, Carters, Glasiers, Armorers, Baskett makers, Skinners, 'Sadlers, Waggon-makers, Plasterers, Feather-makers, as all propertie

On the 22d May, 1622, Sir George Buc was formally superseded in a Privy Seal, (also extant in the

'makers and cunning artificers, and labourers whatsoever, as our said 'servant, or his Assigne, bearer hereof, shall thinke necessary and 'requisite, for the speedy making and finishing of any exploit, work-'manship, or peece of service that shall at any time hereafter belong to 'our said office of the Revells; as also to take at price reasonable in 'all places within our said realme of England, as well within franchises 'and liberties as without, any kind or kinds of stuffe, ware or mer-'chandize, wood or coale or other fewell, timber, wainscott, boards, 'lath, nailes, brick, tyle, leads, iron, wyer, and all other necessaries for 'our said works of the said office of our Revells, as he the said Sir John 'Ashley, or his Assignes, shall thinke behoofull and expedient, from 'time to time for our said service in the said office of the Revells, 'together with all cariages for the same, both by land and water as the 'case shall require. And furthermore we have by these presents 'authorised and commaunded the said Sir John Ashley, that in case 'any person or persons, whatsoever they be, will obstinately disobey, 'and from henceforth refuse to accomplish and obey our commaunde-'ment and pleasure in that behalf, or withdrawe themselves from any 'of our said works upon warning to them or any of them given by the 'said Sir John Ashley, or by his sufficient deputie in that behalf to be 'named or appointed for their diligent attendance and workmanship 'upon the said works or devises, as to their naturall dutie and allege-'ance appertaineth, that then it shalbe lawfull unto the said S^r^ John 'Ashley, or his deputie for the time being, to attache the partie or 'parties so offending, and him or them to commit to ward, there to 'remaine without bayle or mainprise, until the said Sir John Ashley 'shall thinke the time of his or their imprisonment to be punishment 'sufficient for his or their said offences in that behalf; and that done 'to enlarge him or them, soe being imprisoned, at their full libertie, 'without any losse penaltie, forfaiture or other damage in that behalf 'to be sustained or borne by the said S^r^ John Ashley or his deputie. 'And also if any person or persons, being taken into our said works of 'the said office of our Revells, being arrested coming or going to or 'from our said works of our said office of our Revells, at the suite of

Chapter-house) directed to the Exchequer, referring to orders that had been given to him for the receipt

'any person or persons, then the said S^r^ John Ashley, by virtue and 'authority hereof, to enlarge him or them as by our special protection 'during the time of said works. And also if any person or persons, 'being retained in our said works of our said office of Revells, have 'taken any manner of taskeworke, being bound to finish the same by 'a certaine day, shall not runne into any manner of forfeiture or 'penaltie for breaking of his day, soe that he or they, immediately after 'the finishing of our said works, endeavor him or themselves to finish 'the said taskeworke. And further also wee have and doe by these 'presents authorize and commaund our said servant Sir John Ashley, 'Master of our Revells, by himself or his sufficient deputie or deputies, 'to warne commaund and appoint in all places within this our Realme 'of England, as well within franchises and liberties as without, all and 'every player and players, with the playmakers, either belonging to 'any noblemen, or otherwise, bearing the name or names of using the 'facultie of playmakers or players of Comedies, Tragedies, Interludes, 'or what other showes soever, from time to time and at all times to 'appeare before him with all such plaies, tragedies, comedies or showes 'as they shall have in readines or meane to sett foorth, and them to pre-'sent and recite before our said servant or his sufficient deputie, whome 'we ordaine appoint and authorize by these presents of all such 'showes, plaies, players and playmakers, together with their playing 'places, to order and reforme, authorise and put downe, as shalbe thought 'meete or unmeete unto himself or his said deputie in that behalf. 'And we have likewise by these presents authorised and commaunded 'the said Sir John Ashley, that if any of them, whatsoever they be, 'will obstinately refuse, upon warning unto them given, by the said 'Sir John Ashley or his sufficient deputie, to accomplish and obey our 'commaundement in this behalf, then it shalbe lawfull to and for the 'said Sir John Ashley, or his sufficient deputie, to attache the partie or 'parties so offending, and him or them to commit to ward, there to 'remaine without baile or mainprise, untill such time as the said Sir 'John Ashley or his sufficient deputie shall thinke the time of his or

of 60*l.*, due to the officers of the Revels, upon accounts for two years, and of 100*l.* in advance for the provision of necessaries for the Court amusements, making together 701*l.* Of this amount Sir George Buc had obtained 400*l.*, and the Privy Seal directed that the remaining 301*l.* should be paid to Sir John Astley, as Sir George Buc, 'by reason of sickness and 'indisposition of body, wherewith it had pleased God 'to visit him, was become disabled, and insufficient 'to undergo and perform' the duties of Master of the Revels, 'which office had been conferred upon Sir John Astley, Knight.' Thus from the 2d May, 1622. Sir John Astley was in full possession of the office of Master of the Revels, with some extraordinary powers which never appear to have been given to, nor exercised by his predecessors.

Some time before Sir George Buc was thus ex-

'their imprisonment to be punishment sufficient for his or their said 'offences in that behalf; and that done to enlarge him or them so being 'imprisoned at their plaine libertie, without any losse penaltie for- 'feiture or other danger in this behalf to be sustained or borne by the 'said Sir John Ashley or his deputy, any act, statute, ordinance or 'provision heretofore had or made, to the contrary hereof in any wise 'notwithstanding. Wherefore wee will and commaund you and every of 'you, that unto the said Sir John Ashley, or his sufficient deputie, 'bearer hereof, in the due execution of this our authority and com- 'maund, yee be ayding, supporting and assisting from time to time as 'the case shall require, as you and every of you tender our pleasure, 'and will answer the contrary at your uttermost perills. In witness, &c. 'Given under our signet at our Pallace of Westminster the 2d day of 'May in the 20th yeare of our rayne, &c.

'Ex. R. Kirkham.'

cluded from his office, viz., in the autumn of 1620, a project was on foot for constructing an Amphitheatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields; and by the documents extant upon this subject it appears, that the Prince's players * had at one time (the date is not given) presented a petition to King James, in order to be allowed to erect a playhouse there: a negative was then put upon this undertaking, in con-

* In 1621, William Rowley, the author of several plays, was one of the Prince's actors, and in that year published some lines on the death of a fellow actor, who seems to have obtained celebrity, of the name of Hugh Atwell. They have never been mentioned nor reprinted, and are here given from a copy, among a number of broadsides on temporary subjects, in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

'For a Funerall Elegie on the Death of Hugh Atwell, Servant to 'Prince Charles, this fellow-feeling Farewell: who died the 25th of 'Sept., 1621.

'So, now Hee's downe, the other side may shout:
'But did he not play faire? held he not out
'With courage beyond his bone? Full sixe yeares
'To wrastle and tugge with Death! the strong'st feares
'To meet at such a match. They that have seene
'How doubtfull Victorie hath stood betweene
'Might wonder at it. Sometimes cunningly
'Death gets advantage: by his cheeke and eye
'We thought that ours had beene the weaker part,
'And straight agen the little mans great heart
'Would rouse fresh strength and shake him off awhile:
'Death would retire, but never reconcile.
'They too't agen, agen; they pull, they tugge,
'At last Death gets within, and with a hugge
'The faint Soule crushes. This thou maist boast, Death,
'Th'hast throwne him faire, but he was out of breath.
'Refresh thee then (sweet Hugh); on the ground rest:
'The worst is past, and now thou hast the best.
'Rise with fresh breath, and be assur'd before,
'That Death shall never wrastle with thee more.

sequence of the certificate of eleven justices that it would be inconvenient. Nevertheless, it appears that in 1620 the King incautiously granted a permission to 'his servants John Cotton, John Williams and Thomas Dixon,' (names that do not elsewhere occur) to build an Amphitheatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields: whether attention was called to the subject by remonstrances from other parties is not stated, but on the 29th September, 1620, James wrote to his Privy Council, requiring them to cancel the licence given, and to cause the Solicitor General to draw up another according to certain inclosed instructions.

'Oh, hadst thou, Death (as warres and battels may
'Present thee so) a field of noble clay
'To entertaine into thy rhewmie cell,
'And thou wouldst have it be presented well,
'Speake thy oration by this mans toung:
'Mongst living Princes it hath sweetly sung,
'(While they have sung his praise) but if thy Court
'Be silence-tyde and there dwells no report,
'Lend it to Life to store another flesh:
'We misse it here; wee'l entertain 't afresh.

'Epitaph.

'Here lyes the man (and let no lyars tell)
'His heart a Saints, his toung a silver bell:
'Friend to his friend he stood: by Death he fell:
'He chang'd his *Hugh*, yet he remains At-well.

'Will. Rowley.'

Hugh Atwell, or Attawel, it will be recollected, was one of 'the Children of her Majesty's Revels,' in 1609, and played in Ben Jonson's *Epicœne* in that year. George Attewel was a player in Henslowe's company, and perhaps the father of Hugh Attawell, Attewell, or Atwell. A receipt by Francis Henslowe of 9*l.*, to enable him to purchase a share of the company with which he was playing, is witnessed by William Smyght, Gorge Attewell, and Robart Nycowlles, Players.

The original, from which the following was copied, is in the State Paper Office.

'To our right trusty and right welbeloved Cousins 'and Councellors, William Earle of Pembroke, Cham- 'berlaine of our Household, and Thomas Earle of 'Arundell; to our trusty and right welbeloved Coun- 'cellor John Lo. Digby, Vice-chamberlen of our 'Howsehould, and to our right trusty and welbeloved 'Councellors, Sir Robert Naunton, Knight, one of our 'Principall Secretaries of State, Sir George Calvert, 'Knight, one other of our Principall Secretaries of State, 'and Sir Fulke Grivill, Knight, Chancellor and Under- 'treasurer of our Exchequer, or to any fowre of them.

'James R.

'Right trusty and right welbeloved Cousins and 'Councellors, and right trusty and welbeloved Coun- 'cellors, wee greete you well. Whereas at the humble 'suite of our servants John Cotton, John Williams 'and Thomas Dixon, and in recompence of their ser- 'vices, wee have been pleased to licence them to buyld 'an Amphitheater, which hath passed our Signett and 'is stayed at our Privy Seale; and finding therein 'conteyned some such wordes and clauses, as may in 'some constructions seem to give them greater liberty, 'both in the point of buylding and using of exercises, 'then is any way to be permitted, or was ever by us 'intended, Wee have thought fitt to commaund and 'give authority unto you, or any fower of you, to cause 'that already passed to be cancelled, and to give order 'unto our Sollicitor generall for the drawing up of a

'new warrant for our signature to the same parties, 'according to such directions and reservations as 'herewith wee send you. Wherein we are more par- 'ticular, both in the affirmative and the negative, to 'the end that, as on the one side we would have no- 'thing pass us to remaine upon record, which either 'for the forme might not become us, or for the sub- 'stance might cross our many Proclamations (pur- 'sued with good successe) for buyldings, or on the 'other side might give them cause to importune us 'after they had ben at charges, to which end we wishe 'that you call them before you, and lett them know 'our pleasure and resolution therein. Given under 'our Signett at our Honor of Hampton Court, the '29th of September in the eighteenth yeare of our 'Raigne of greate Brittaigne, France and Ireland.'

It will be found afterwards, from certain letters which passed upon this subject early in the reign of the successor of King James, that no other patent was granted to the parties, thus summarily deprived of what had been formally conceded.

The Mask of the *Metamorphosed Gipsies*, by Ben Jonson, was played while King James was on progress, twice in the month of August, at Burleigh on the Hill and at Belvoir, and a third time at Windsor, in September. The folio of 1640 states incorrectly, that all three representations of this highly approved production were in the month of August. Gifford asserts, that this is the only MS. piece of Jonson's in existence, and he had the use of a copy belonging to

Mr. Heber: I have already shown that there are two other Masks by the same author, in his own handwriting, among the royal MSS. in the British Museum. On the 26th August, 1621, James was at Woodstock, where he saw Barten Haliday's *Marriage of the Arts*. It is not to be wondered that the King found the performance wearisome, and that he offered three times to leave the hall, where it was played by the Students of Christchurch.

On the Sunday night preceding the 15th of December, 1621, a catastrophe similar to that which had happened to the Globe on the Bankside, visited the Fortune theatre in Golding Lane: it was burnt to the ground in two hours, and the dresses and plays were also consumed. Such particulars as are known are given in the separate account of that theatre. It was square and of wood, but it was rebuilt round and of brick, and it was not completed until 1623. At the date of this accident the Elector Palatine's players, who had possession of it, were called the Palsgrave's servants, and they consisted of the following persons:—

'Richard Gunnell,
'Francis Grace,
'Charles Massey,
'Richard Price or Pryore,
'Richard Fowler,
'Andrew Cane,
'Curtis Grevill,'

and some others. This information is derived from the Office-book of Sir Henry Herbert, who in August,

1623, was formally appointed by Sir John Astley Deputy Master of the Revels *. From that valuable record many of the particulars of the Annals of the Stage, hereafter to be inserted, will be obtained: it was long in the hands of Malone, who made ample use of the materials.

Some of the actors performed at more than one theatre, as Cane and Grevill, mentioned in the preceding list of players at the Fortune, are also stated by Sir H. Herbert to have been at the same date players at the Phœnix or Cockpit †, together with

'Christopher Beeston,
'Joseph More,
'Eliart Swanston,
'William Shurlock, and
'Anthony Turner.'

It is probable that these were younger performers, and that they were members of the company originally called the Children of the Queen's Revels in 1603. When Eliart Swanston had attained the proper age,

* He seems to have acted in that capacity as early as May, 1622, and his Office-book extends back to that date; so that Sir John Astley never executed the duties of Master of the Revels in person.

† 'Soon after his (Shakespeare's) death, four of the principal com-'panies then subsisting made a union, and were afterwards called "the 'United Companies," but I know not precisely in what this union con-'sisted. I suspect it arose from a penury of actors, and that the mana-'gers contracted to permit the performers in each house occasionally to 'assist their brethren in the other theatres in the representation of 'plays.' Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, iii., 224. This conjecture is in some degree supported by the fact mentioned above, but I do not know any other distinct instance of the kind.

he (as Malone observes *) joined the King's servants at the Globe and Blackfriars, and is sometimes mentioned as one of the leaders.

The 'players of the Revels,' as they are called by Sir H. Herbert, (after they had lost the name of the Children of the Revels,) acted in 1622, at the Red Bull, and consisted of the following performers :— A.D. 1622.

Robert Lee,
Richard Perkins,
Ellis Worth,
Thomas Basse,
John Blaney,
John Cumber, and
William Robins †.

Sir Henry Herbert only professes to give the names of 'the chiefe of them.' The part of the leaf containing the names of the King's servants, and of those who performed at the Curtain, who must have been the Prince's servants, had mouldered away, so that Malone was not able to decypher them. The deficiency may, however, as far as relates to the King's servants, be

* Shakespeare by Boswell, iii., 60.

† These players, under the name of 'the late comedians of Queen Anne deceased,' on the 8th of July, 1622, obtained a warrant for a Privy Seal, licensing them 'to bring up children in the quality and 'exercise of playing comedies, histories, interludes, morals, pastorals, 'stage plays, and such like, &c., to be called by the name of the Chil-'dren of the Revels.' This fact appears from a MS., No. 515, in the Inner Temple Library, supposed to be a copy of some part of the Lord Chamberlain of the Household's Book.

supplied from the list of characters prefixed to Webster's 'Duchess of Malfi,' first printed in 1623, to which the names of the performers are attached, viz:—

J. Lowin,
J. Taylor,
R. Robinson,
R. Benfield,
J. Underwood,
N. Tooley,
J. Rice,
T. Pollard,
R. Sharpe,
J. Thomson, and
R. Pallant.

The names of R. Burbage, H. Condell and W. Ostler are also found opposite the parts played in 1623 by Taylor, Robinson and Benfield, as having acted them when the play was originally produced *;

* Probably about the year 1616, but certainly before March 1619-20, as Richard Burbage died in that month, though mentioned in the patent of March 27, 1619-20. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1825, Mr. Haslewood printed an elegy on the death of R. Burbage, long preserved in MS.; and he subsequently met with another copy of the same production, (for which I have to thank him,) with the important addition of some lines naming four of the parts in which Burbage especially excelled, viz., Hamlet, Hieronimo, Lear, and probably Othello. According to the anonymous author, Burbage's disorder first attacked his speech, and he thus adverts to the loss the stage sustained by his decease—

'Hee's gone, and with him what a world are dead,
'Which he reviv'd, to be revived soe
'No more—young Hamlett, old Hieronymoe,
'King Lear, the creuel Moore, and more beside
'That lived in him have now for ever dyde.

but, in 1623, Burbage, Condell, and Ostler were either dead or had left the stage. John Hemmings, who had been the leader of the company, had also then ceased to perform. Malone states that Hem-

'Oft have I seene him leape into a grave
'Suiting the person which he seem'd to have
'Of a sadd lover, with soe true an eye,
'That there I would have sworne hee meant to dye.
'Oft have I seene him play this parte in jeast
'So lively, that spectators, and the rest
'Of his sad crew, whilst he but seem'd to bleed,
'Amazed thought even then hee dyed indeed.
'O, let not me be checkt and I shall sweare
'Even yet it is a false report I heare;
'And thinke that he who did soe truly faine
'Is still but dead in jeast to live againe:
'But now this part he acts, not playes, 'tis knowne;
'Others he plaide but acted hath his owne.
'Englands great Roscius! for what Roscius
'Was unto Rome, than Burbadg was to us?
'How did his speech become him, and his pace
'Suite with his speech and every action grace!'

The author thus apostrophises the fellow actors of Burbage, alluding to the season when he died:

'And you his sad companyons, to whome Lent
'Becomes more lenten by this accident,
'Henceforth your waving flagg no more hang out,
'Play now no more at all: when round aboute
'Wee looke and miss the Atlas of your spheare,
'What comfort have wee, think you, to be there,
'And how can you delight in playing, when
'Such mourning soe affecteth other men?'

It consists in the whole of eighty-six lines, and ends thus:

'And thou, deare earth, that must enshrine that dust
'By heaven now committed to thy trust,
'Keepe it as pretious as the richest mine,
'That lyes intomb'd in the rich wombe of thine,

mings 'continued chief director of the King's company of comedians to the time of his death*.' Of the members of the company called the Prince's servants, performing at the Curtain, we have no precise information. These five companies, the King's servants, the Prince's servants, the Palsgrave's servants, the Children of the Queen's Revels, (afterwards called the Queen of Bohemia's servants,) and the players of the Revels, seem to have been the principal bodies of actors in London, when Sir H. Herbert first came into office as deputy to Sir John Astley. Sir H. Herbert mentions also, under date of September, 1623, 'a company of strangers' performing at the Red Bull, who did not (he adds) form one of 'the four companies.' These four companies are elsewhere called 'the united companies,' but he has not pointed out which of the *five* companies, above enumerated, was not included in the union.

Thus, notwithstanding the patronage given to theatrical performances by the King and court, in the twenty years between the death of Elizabeth and the coming of Sir H. Herbert into office, both the number of

'That after times may know that much lov'd mould
'Fro others dust, and cherrish it as gold:
'On it be laide some soft, but lasting stone,
'With this short epitaph endorst theron,
'That every one may reade, and reading weepe,
''Tis England's Roscius, Burbadg, that I keepe.'

* On the 10th of October, 1630. Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, iii. 190.

theatres, and the number of performers had undergone a considerable reduction—a circumstance for which it will not be very easy to account, unless we take into consideration the growth of puritanical opinions, which might materially diminish the number of visitors to the playhouses, and, consequently, render the occupation of an actor much less profitable. Regarding the want of public encouragement to theatrical performances, at this date, a passage in point may be quoted from a tract published at the very commencement of the year 1623*, where the author is speaking of plays and players. 'I should here (he says) 'unlock the casket of my knowledge (having well 'nigh forgot), and lay open some rarities concerning 'players; but, because the commonwealth affords them 'not their due desert, and for they are men of some '*parts* and live not like lazy drones, but are still in '*action*, I am content silently to refer them to three 'sublunary felicities, which are these,—a fair day, a 'good play, and a gallant audience; and so let them 'shift for their lives.'

Besides his players, Prince Charles retained a company of musicians, and one of them, Thomas Lupo, was allowed a salary of 40*l.* a-year. Having 'by casual means fallen into decay,' he presented a petition to his royal master to obtain an advance of 30*l.* 'to satisfy his creditors:' the prayer was complied with†,

* *Vox Graculi*, a pretended prognostication for 1623, p. 48.

† See Harleian MSS. No. 781, consisting of petitions to the Prince of Wales.

and on 17th of May, 1622, he obtained a farther advance of 20*l.*

The Mask on Twelfth-night 1621-2, was, as usual, by Ben Jonson: it was called *The Mask of Augurs*, and was only once represented until the 6th of May, 1622, when it was repeated.

That Sir George Buc kept an account of plays licensed by him, and of such as were represented at court, is evident from the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert, where it is quoted and referred to: in all probability, Edmund Tylney had set him the example in this respect, and the loss of these documents must be deeply deplored*: had they been

* The entries in the Stationers' Books of plays for publication can only form a very imperfect guide as to the number licensed by the Master of the Revels, inasmuch as many may have been, and were, acted which were not printed, and some perhaps were printed to which the sanction of the Master of the Revels had not been previously required. The following list of plays, licensed by Sir Geo. Buc, was made out by Chalmers from the Stationers Company's registers; and though necessarily very incomplete, it may be worth subjoining, as it conveys some information on the point. If Chalmers be correct, Sir George Buc acted as deputy to Tylney some years before the death of the latter. Vide *Supp. Apol.*, p. 200.

1606. 6 May. *The Fleire*, provided authority be got.
21 Nov. By assignment, a comedie called *The Fleire*.
1607. 10 April. *The Tragicall Life and Death of Claudius Tiberius Nero.*
20 April. *The Whore of Babylon.*
22 April. *The Faire Mayde of the Exchange.*
9 May. *The Phœnix.*
15 May. A comedy called *Mychaelmas Terme.*
20 May. *The Woman Hater*, as it hath been lately acted by the Children of Powles.

preserved, they would have thrown the strongest and the clearest light on the history of our stage; and, among other matters, would probably have fixed

3 June. The Tragedy of *Busye Damboise*, made by George Chapman.

29 June. *The Travelles of the Three English Brothers*, as it was played at the Curten.

31 July. A Tragedye, *The Miserye of Enforced Marriage*.

6 August. The Comedye of *The Puritan Widow*.

.. .. *Northward Ho*.

.. .. A Comedy called *What you Will*.

7 Oct. Twoo plaies:—*The Revengers Tragedie, A Trick to catch the Old one*.

12 Oct. A playe, called *The Family of Love*, as it hath beene lately acted by the Children of his Majesty's Revels.

16 Oct. The Tragedie of *Alexander the Sixt*, as it was played before his Majesty.

22 Oct. A plai, *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*.

26 Nov. Mr. Willm Shakespeare his *Historie of Kinge Leare*, as it was played before the King's Majestie at Whitehall upon St. Stephen's night at Xmas last by his Majesty's servants, playing usually at the Globe on the Bankside.

1607–8. 22 March. *The Fyve Wittie Gallants*, as it hath been acted by the children of the Chapell.

28 March. A most witty and merry conceited comedy called *Who would have thought it, or Lawtryks*.

12 April. A. B. *Humour out of Breathe*.

21 April. The characters of twoo Royal Maskes, invented by Ben Jonson.

29 April. The 2^{d} p^{te} of *The Convicted Courtesan, or Honest Whore*.

20 May. The Booke of *Pericles, Prynce of Tyre*.

.. .. *Anthony and Cleopatra*.

3 June. A Romane Tragedie called *The Rape of Lucrece*.

the dates and order of Shakespeare's plays: the sums paid for licensing them, before they were performed, would have decided the point without the possibility of doubt or controversy *. The poignancy of regret

5 June. *The Conspiracy and Tragedie of Charles Duke of Byronn.* Written by George Chapman.
6 Oct. A playe of *The Dumbe Knight.*
1619. 10 July. The Temple Maske. Ann. 1618.
1621. 6 Oct. The Tragedie of *Othello.*

Here we have a hiatus from the 6th of November, 1608, to July, 1619, during which interval we know nothing of the plays licensed by Sir George Buc. With reference to Chapman's *Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron*, although printed in 1608, at least one part of the performance was written in 1602; and in Henslowe's Diary, there are entries of materials bought for making dresses for the hero: 5*l.* were spent upon a suit of black satin, most likely for *the Tragedy*, which might have been brought out before the *Conspiracy*. It has been hitherto supposed, that the plays were written about the date when they were printed.

* The utility of Sir H. Herbert's office-book in this respect may be illustrated with reference to the works of Beaumont and Fletcher: on this authority Malone was able decisively to establish, that Beaumont had no share in the production of the following pieces, some of which are attributed, in the folio of their works in 1647, to their joint authorship. The dates are ascertained by the same document.

1618. The Loyal Subject.
1621. The Island Princess.
.. The Wild Goose Chase.
.. The Pilgrim.
1622. The Beggar's Bush.
14 May. The Prophetess.
22 June. The Sea Voyage.
24 Oct. The Spanish Curate.
1623.
29 Aug. The Maid of the Mill (assisted by Rowley).

is not diminished by the full, though scattered, and sometimes incoherent nature of the information in the MS. of Sir H. Herbert, which only commences in the year 1622: it shows what Tylney's and Buc's registers might have furnished, had they been preserved. Sir John Astley, as has been stated, came into office in May, 1622, and Sir H. Herbert, his deputy, has left us the following account of

'Revells and Playes, performed and acted at 'Christmas in the Court at Whitehall, A. D. '1622'-3. 1623.

'Upon St. Steeven's daye at night the Spanish 'Curate was acted by the King's players.

'Upon St. Johns daye at night was acted the Beg-'gars Bush by the King's players.

'Upon Childemas daye no playe.

17 Oct. The Devil of Dowgate (this piece is lost).
6 Dec. The Wandering Lovers (also lost).
1624.
27 May. A Wife for a Month.
19 Oct. Rule a Wife and Have a Wife.
1625-6.
22 Jan. Fair Maid of the Inn.
3 Feb. The Noble Gentleman.

Beaumont died in March, 1615-16; and if Fletcher died in 1625, as is commonly believed, his last two plays were not brought out until after his death. To this catalogue are to be added, *The Tamer Tamed*, and *The Mad Lover* the precise dates of which are not fixed. In the three years 1622, 1623, and 1624, he wrote nine plays; and if he had proceeded at the same rate since the death of Beaumont, the latter, as Malone observes, must have had a much less share in what are considered the works of Beaumont and Fletcher, than is generally imagined.

'Upon the Sonday following the Pilgrim was acted
'by the King's players.

'Upon New-yeare's day at night the Alchemist was
'acted by the King's players.

'Upon Twelfe night, the Masque being put off, the
'play called A Vowe and a good One was acted by
'the Prince's servants.

'Upon Sonday, being the 19th of January, the
'Princes Masque, appointed for Twelfe-day, was per-
'formed; the speeches and songs composed by Mr.
'Ben Jonson*, and the scene made by Mr. Inigo
'Jones, which was three times changed during the
'tyme of the Masque: where in the first that was
'discovered was a prospective of Whitehall, with the
'Banquetting-house: the second was the Masquers in
'a cloud; and the third in a forest. The French
'Ambassador was present. The Antemasques of
'tumblers and jugglers.

'The Prince did lead the measures with the French
'ambassador's wife.

'The measures, braules, corrantos, and galliards
'being ended, the Masquers with the ladies did daunce
'two contrey daunces, namely, the Soldiers Marche

* The title of it was *Time vindicated to himself and to his Honours.* Gifford, quoting this passage as he found it given by Malone, speaks of it as taken 'from the Dulwich College MS.' There is no such MS. in Dulwich College, and it never was deposited there: unluckily, it does not at all follow, that because a MS. is not found in Dulwich College now, that it never was there. It is a great piece of good fortune that Henslowe's Diary, mutilated as it has been, found its way back to its original depository.

'and Huff Hamukin, where the French ambassador's 'wife, and Mademoysala St. Luke did daunce.

'At Candlemas Malvolio was acted at court by the 'King's servants.

'At Shrovetide, the King being at Newmarket, and 'the Prince out of England, there was neither Masque 'nor play, nor any other kind of Revels held at court.'

The Mask here spoken of, as having been 'put off,' was Ben Jonson's *Time Vindicated*, which the folio of 1640 (where it was first published) states to have been presented on Twelfth-night. Why it was postponed is not explained.

A dreadful accident happened in a house adjoining the Blackfriars Theatre, on the 26th of October, 1623. Camden, in his *Annals*, says, A. D. 1623. that the theatre itself fell down, and that eighty-one spectators were killed; but he was misinformed upon this point: the catastrophe occurred in a large upper room, of what was formerly the residence of Lord Hunsdon, but then occupied by the French ambassador, whose lady had danced at court the preceding Christmas. The fact was (as appears from Howes, the continuator of Stowe, and other authorities), that on the occasion in question about three hundred persons had assembled to hear a sermon from a Roman Catholic preacher of the name of Drury, when the floor gave way, and about eighty persons were killed, and as many more had their limbs broken, or were otherwise injured. Among the Harleian MSS. is a particular 'description of that wonderful slaughter of

people that was in the Blackfryers, 1623,' which begins thus, giving the precise localities:—'On Sunday (the 26 Octob. 1623, *stilo vet:* the 5 of Novemb. *stilo novo)* in the afternoone about three of the clocke, in a large garret, being the third and uppermost storie of an highe edifice of stone and bricke, at the entring into the French Ambassadors House, and within the precinct of Black-fryers, London,' &c. A pamphlet, mentioned by Malone, was published just afterwards, called 'A Word of Comfort, or a Discourse concerning the late lamentable accident;' but he was not acquainted with a broad-side of fourteen seven-line stanzas, by a person of the name of Math. Rhodes, called 'the dismal day at the Blackfryers,' in which a detail of the event is given in verse*.

* The full title of this performance, 'Imprinted at London, by G. Eld., 1623,' is the following:—

'The dismall Day at the Black Fryers. Or a deploreable Elegie on the death of almost an Hundred Persons, who were lamentably slaine by the fall of a House in the Blacke Fryers, being all assembled there (after the manner of their Devotions) to heare a Sermon on Sunday Night, the 26th of October last past, *An.* 1623.' It opens thus:—

'From the vast chaos of distempred Mindes
My Muse doth flutter forth her moystned wings,
Upheld with gusts and gales of sighing windes
In this sad Swan-like Elegie she sings;
For inbred griefes her heart so nearly stings,
That from thee (gentle Reader) we must borrow
Some teares of pity in such theames of sorrow.

Oh grave Melpomine, assist my pen,
Whilst I in dolefull manner doe recite
The heavy death of neere an hundred men,

The following are the particulars supplied, by Sir H. Herbert, concerning plays and masks performed at Court in 1623 and 1624:— A. D. 1624.

'Note of such playes as were acted at Court in '1623 and 1624.

'Upon Michaelmas night at Hampton Court, the 'Mayd of the Mill by the K[ing's] company.

'Upon Allhollows night at St. James, the Prince 'being there only, the Mayd of the Mill againe, with 'reformations.

'Upon the 5th of November at Whitehall, the

'Whose tragicke ends my soule doth much affright,
'With fearfull horror of that dismall night.
'Ah fatall Vesper, whose like hath not beene
'Since the Sicilian Vespers ever seene.'

It then relates that Drury, a Jesuit, was in the act of preaching when the floor fell, and the disaster occurred, which is thus described:—

'And when the upper floore, that first did breake,
'Fals on the second, where they hop't to stay,
'Yet on the sudden, ere a man could speake,
'They on the ground all bruizd and smothered lay,
'Some stifled up with Lome, stones, dust and clay:
'And some for help and succour loudly calling,
'All broken bruizd and mangled in their falling.'

The last stanza runs thus piously:—

'O Lord, defend thy church and common-weale,
'Maintaine thy Gospell free in this our land,
'And since to us thy Truth thou dost reveale
'In zeale unto it let us ever stand:
'Protect our King still from his Enemies hand;
'And when we must resign our vitall breath
'Save us (O Lord) from strange and sudden death.
'*Math. Rhodes.*'

The original is in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

'Prince being there only, the Gipsye, by the Cockpit 'company.

'Upon St. Stevens daye, the King and Prince 'being there, the Mayd of the Mill by the K. com-'pany. At Whitehall.

'Upon St. Johns night, the Prince only being 'there, the Bondman* by the Queenes† company. At 'Whitehall.

'Upon Innocents night, falling out upon a Son-'day, the Buck is the Thief, the King and Prince 'being there. By the Kings company. At White-'hall.

'Upon New-yeares night, by the K. company, the

* Malone made out a list of the periods of licensing all Massinger's plays, from *The Bondman*, on Dec. 3, 1623, to *The Fair Anchoress of Pausilippo*, on Jan. 26, 1639–40—twenty-four in number; but as Gifford availed himself of the materials thus furnished in his edition of Massinger's works, 1821, it is unnecessary here to repeat them.

† Malone conjectured, that 'the Queenes Company' here mentioned was the Queen of Bohemia's company, as Queen Anne died in 1619. See Gifford's *Massinger*, ii., 122. According to the list prefixed to *The Renegado*, 'often acted by the Queens Majesty's servants at the private play-house in Drury Lane,' and first produced on April 17, 1624, the following were some of the performers at that date at the Cockpit:—

John Blanye,	Will. Robins,
John Sumner,	Ed. Shakerley,
Mich. Bowyer,	Ed. Rogers,
Will. Reignalds,	Theo. Bourne.
Will. Allen,	

Sir H. Herbert speaks of the Queen's company, which played at the Cockpit, and of the Queen of Bohemia's company, at the same date and as distinct associations of actors.

'Wandering Lovers, the Prince only being there. 'At Whitehall.

'Upon the Sonday after, beinge the 4th of Jany '1623, by the Queene of Bohemias company, the 'Changelinge, the Prince only being there. At 'Whitehall.

'Upon Twelfe night, the Maske being put off, 'More Dissemblers besides Women, by the Kings 'company, the Prince only being there. At White-'hall.

'To the Duchess of Richmond, in the Kings ab-'sence, was given the Winters Tale, by the K. com-'pany the 18 Jan. 1623.* At Whitehall.

'Upon Allhollows night 1624, the King being at 'Royston, no play.

'The night after my Lord Chamberlin had Rule a 'Wife and Have a Wife, for the ladys, by the Kings 'company.

'Upon St. Steevens night, the Prince only being 'there, Rule a Wife and Have a Wife, by the Kings 'company. At Whitehall.

'Upon St. Johns night, ——— and the Duke of 'Brunswick being there, the Fox, by the ———. 'At Whitehall.

* *The Winter's Tale* had been publicly revived in the August preceding, as appears by the following entry in Sir H. Herbert's MS.:—

'For the Kings players. An olde playe called Winters Tale, for-'merly allowed of by Sir George Bucke, and likewyse by mee on Mr. 'Heminges his worde, that there was nothing profane added or re-'formed, thogh the allowed booke was missinge; and therefore I re-'turned it without a fee, this 19 of August 1623.'

'Upon Innocents night, the ——— and the Duke 'of Brunswyck being there, Cupid's Revenge, by the 'Queene of Bohemias Servants. At Whitehall. 1624.

'Upon New-years night, the Prince only being 'there, the First part of Sir John Falstaff, by the 'Kings company. At Whitehall. 1624.

'Upon Twelve night, the Masque being put off and 'the Prince only there, Tu Quoque, by the Queene 'of Bohemias servants. At Whitehall. 1624.

'Upon Sonday night following, being the 9th of 'January 1624, the Masque was performed.

'On Candlemas night, the 2 of February, no play, 'the King being at Newmarket.'

The Mask noticed in the preceding extracts was Ben Jonson's *Neptune's Triumph*. The folio of 1640 is again in error in stating that it was celebrated on Twelfth night, and Gifford did not correct it. Sir H. Herbert enters twenty plays, as licensed by him in the year 1623; the names and other particulars regarding which, as copied by Chalmers, are added below*. Malone states, that on the 10th April, 1624,

* Supplemental Apology, p. 213. It will be remarked, that Chalmers omits to notice the revival of the Winter's Tale in August, 1623, mentioned in a previous note.

1623. 10 May. A new Play called *The Blacke Ladye* was allowed to be acted by the Lady Elizabeths servants.

A new Play called *The Witch Traveller* was allowed to be acted by the players of the Revels.

3 June. A new Play called *The Valiant Scholler* allowed to be acted by the Lady Elizabeths servants.

Sir Henry Herbert licensed a play by Davenport, called *The History of Henry the First*, but it does not appear among the extracts made by Chalmers

10 June. A new Play called *The Duche Painter, and the French Branke* [q. *Braule*] was allowed to be acted by the Princes servants at the Curtayne.

27 July. For the Palsgraves Players, a Tragedy of *Richard the Third or the English Profit*, with the Reformation, written by Samuel Rowley.

30 July. For the Princes Players, a French tragedy of *The Bellman of Paris*, written by Thomas Dekkirs and John Day for the company of the Red Bull.

Aug. For the Company of the Curtain, a Tragedy of *The Plantation of Virginia*—the profaneness to be left out, otherwise not tolerated.

19 Aug. For the Princes Servants of the Red Bull, an oulde Play called *The peaceable King or the Lord Mendall*, which was formerly allowed by Sir George Bucke, and likewise by me.

1623. 21 Augt. For the Lady Elizabeths Servants of the Cockpit, an old play called *Match me in London*, which had been formerly allowed by Sir George Bucke.

29 Augt. For the Kings Players, a new Comedy called *The Maid of the Mill*, written by Fletcher and Rowley.

12 Sept. For the Lady Elizabeths Players, a new Comedy called *The Cra.... Marchant or Come to my Countrey House*, written by William Bonen. It was acted at the Red Bull, and licenced without my hand to it, because they were none of the four Companys.

18 Sept. For a Company of Strangers, a new Comedy called *Come see a Wonder*, written by John Deye.

from the MS. Office-book of the Deputy Master of the Revels, showing the number and names of the plays he allowed in the year 1624 *.

2 Octr. For the Princes Companye, a new Comedy called *A Fault in Friendship*, written by young Johnson and Broome.

17 Octr. For the Kings Company, an old Play called *More Dissemblers besides Women*, allowed by Sir George Bucke, and being free from alterations was allowed by me for a new Play called *The Devil of Dowgate or Usury put to Use*, written by Fletcher.

29 Octr. For the Palsgraves Players, a new Comedy called *Hardshifte for Husbands or Bilboes the best Blade*, written by Samuel Rowley.

19 Novr. For the Palsgraves Players, a new Tragedy called *Two Kings in a Cottage*, written by Bonen.

28 Novr. For a strange Company at the Red Bull, *The Fayre fowle one or the Bayting of the Jealous Knight*, written by Smith.

1623. 3 December. For the Queen of Bohemias Company, *The Noble Bondman*, written by Philip Messenger gent.

4 December. For the Palsgraves Players, *The Hungarian Lion*, written by Gunnell.

6 December. For the Kings Company, *The Wandring Lovers*, written by Mr. Fletcher.

* Suppl. Apol. p. 217. They are these:

1624. 2 Jan. For the Palsgraves Company *The History of the Dutchess of Suffolk*; which being full of dangerous matter was much reformèd by me: I had two pounds for my pains. Written by Mr. Drew.

6 Jan. For the Prince's Company, *The Four Sons of Amon*; being an old Play, and not of a legible hand.

There is another omission of more importance in this list: it relates to a play by Thomas Middleton, called *A Game of Chess*, which, just prior to the 12th

	26 Jan.	For the Palsgrave's Company: A Tragedy called *The Whore in Grain.*
	3 March.	For the Cockpit Company, *The Sun's Darling;* in the nature of a Masque, by Deker and Forde.
	6 April.	For the Fortune: a new Comedy called *A Match or no Match.* Written by Mr. Rowleye.
	17 April.	For the Fortune: *The Way to content all Women, or How a Man may please his Wife.* Written by Mr. Gunnell.
	.. ..	For the Cockpit: *The Renegado or the Gentleman of Venice.* Written by Messinger.
	3 May.	For the Princes Company: a new Play called *The Madcap*, written by Barnes.
	.. ..	An old Play called *Jugurth, King of Numidia,* formerly allowed by Sir George Bucke.
	15 May.	The Tragedy of *Nero* was allowed to be printed.
1624.	21 May.	For the Palsgrave's Company: a play called *Humour in the End.*
	27 May.	For the King's Company: a Comedy called *A Wife for a Month:* written by Fletcher.
	.. ..	For the Prince's Company: a Play called *The Parracide.*
	11 June.	A new Play called *The Fairy Knight:* Written by Forde and Dekker.
	3 Sept.	For the Cockpit Company: a new Play called *The Captive or the Lost recovered.* Written by Hayward.
	.. ..	A new Tragedy called *A late Murther of the Sonn upon the Mother:* written by Forde and Webster.
	15 Sept.	For the Palsgraves Company: a Tragedy called *The Fair Star of Antwerp.*

of August, 1624 (having been licenced by Sir H. Herbert), was performed at the Globe with extraordinary success*. In a copy of the play (of which there were at least two editions, both without date) once in the possession of Major Pearson, was written, in an old hand, the information that it was performed nine days in succession, and that the company took at the doors of the theatre more than 1500*l.*† The amount must certainly have been greatly exaggerated, but the fact of the nine repetitions is very likely correct: after this, then remarkable run, the performance was suddenly stopped by the highest authority, and the conduct of Sir H. Herbert in licensing the play seems to have been called in question, which may possibly account for the non-insertion of any notice of it in his office-book. The most minute and accurate information

> 14 Oct. For the Cockpit Company: a new Play called *The City Night Cap*. Written by Davenport.
>
> 15 Oct. For the Palsgraves Company: a new Play called *The Angell King*.
>
> 22 Oct. For the Palsgrave's Company: a new Play called *The Bristowe Merchant*. Written by Forde and Decker.
>
> 3 Nov. For the Cockpit Company: a new Play called *The Parliament of Love:* written by Massinger.
>
> .. .. For the Palsgrave's Company: a new Play called *The Masque*. The Masque book was allowed of for the press, and was brought me by Mr. Jon [q. Jonson] the 29th December 1624.

* Malone (Shakespeare by Boswell, ii. 437) states that Middleton's *Game of Chess* was first acted in 1625, by the King's servants, at the Globe, but he was mistaken in the date he assigned to its appearance.

† Chalmers, *Apology*, p. 500.

upon this topic is contained in the registers of the Privy Council*, where the correspondence between that body and Secretary Conway is inserted at length. Hence we learn that James, being at Rufford, received information from the Spanish Ambassador, that a play was in a course of performance at the Globe, which brought upon the stage the King his master, Count Gondomar, the Bishop of Spalato and others connected with the court of Spain; and on the 12th of August, 1624, Secretary Conway (after complaining that the first intelligence upon the subject was not derived from some of the English ministers, and after referring to a former order, of which we have no other information, against bringing 'any modern Christian Kings' upon the stage) directed the Privy Council to call before it the author and players†. Immediate steps

* The only inaccuracy in them seems to be the calling Thomas Middleton, Edward. There was no dramatic poet of that day of the name of Edward Middleton. The printed copies purport to have been written by Thomas Middleton.

† The whole of the letter is set out in the Register of the Privy Council in the following terms:—

'May it please your Lordships—His Majesty hath received informa-
'tion from the Spanish Ambassador of a very scandalous comedy acted
'publicly by the King's players, wherein they take the boldness, and
'presumption, in a rude, and dishonorable fashion, to represent on the
'stage the persons of his Majesty the King of Spain, the Conde de
'Gondomar, the Bishop of Spalato, &c. His Majesty remembers well,
'there was a commandment and restraint given against the represent-
'ing of any modern Christian Kings in those stage plays; and wonders
'much at the boldness now taken by that company, and also that it
'hath been permitted to be so acted, and that the first notice thereof

were no doubt taken for the purpose, but it was not until the 21st August that it was certified to the Secretary from the Privy Council, that the players had been summoned and reproved, and the piece, which bore the name of the Master of the Revels to the licence, forbidden*. Middleton, the author, had 'shifted out

'should be brought to him by a foreign Ambassador, while so many 'ministers of his own are there abouts, and cannot but have heard of it. 'His Majesty's pleasure is, that your Lordships presently call before 'you, as well the poet that made the comedy, as the comedians that 'acted it; and, upon examination of them, to commit them, or such of 'them as you shall find most faulty, unto prison, if you find cause, or 'otherwise take security for their forthcoming: and then certify his 'Majesty, what you find that comedy to be, in what points it is most 'offensive, by whom it was made, by whom licenced, and what course 'you think fittest to be held for the exemplary and severe punishment 'of the present offenders, and to restrain such insolent and licentious 'presumption for the future.

'This is the charge I have received from his Majesty, and with it I 'make bold to offer to your Lordships the humble service of, &c.

'From Rufford Aug: 12th: 1624.'

* The following was the reply of the Privy Council:—

'After our hearty commendations, &c.—According to His Majesty's 'pleasure, signified to this board by your letter of the 12th August, 'touching the suppression of a scandalous comedy acted by The King's 'players, we have called before us some of the principal actors, and 'demanded of them by what license and authority they have presumed 'to act the same; in answer whereto they produced a book, being an 'original and perfect copy thereof (as they affirmed) seen and allowed by 'Sir Henry Herbert Knt., Master of the Revells, under his own hand, 'and subscribed in the last page of the said book: We demanding 'further, whether there were not other parts or passages represented on 'the stage, than those expressly contained in the book, they confidently 'protested, they added, or varied from the same, nothing at all. The

of the way;' but a warrant having been issued for his apprehension, on the 30th August he tendered his appearance, and his 'indemnity' was registered *. The reason why no punishment was inflicted, either upon

'poet, they tell us, is one Middleton, who shifting out of the way, and 'not attending the board with the rest, as was expected, we have 'given warrant to a messenger for the apprehending of him. To those 'that were before us we gave a sound and sharp reproof; making them 'sensible of his Majesty's high displeasure herein, giving them straight 'charge and commands, that they presumed not to act the said comedy 'any more, nor that they suffered any play or interlude whatsoever to 'be acted by them, or any of their company, until his Majesty's plea-'sure be further known. We have caused them likewise to enter into 'bond for their attendance upon the board whensoever they shall be 'called. As for our certifying to his Majesty (as was intimated by 'your letter) what passages in the said comedy we should find to be 'offensive and scandalous, we have thought it our duties, for his Ma-'jesty's clearer information, to send herewithal the book itself, sub-'scribed as aforesaid by the Master of the Revels, that so either your-'self, or some other, whom his Majesty shall appoint to peruse the same, 'may see the passages themselves out of the original, and call Sir Henry 'Herbert before you, to know a reason of his licensing thereof, who (as 'we are given to understand) is now attending at court. So having 'done as much as we conceived agreeable to our duties, in conformity 'to his Majesty's royal commandments, and that which we hope shall 'give him full satisfaction, we shall continue our humble prayers to 'Almighty God for his health and safety, and bid you very heartily farewell.

'21st August 1624.'

* In the following form:—

'This day (30th Aug. 1624) Edward [Thomas] Middleton of Lon-'don, gent., being formerly sent for by warrant from this board, 'tendered his appearance, wherefore his indemnity is here entered 'into the register of council causes: nevertheless he is enjoined to 'attend the board, till he be discharged by order of their Lordships.'

the players or poet, was perhaps that they had acted the piece under the authority of the Master of the Revels; and in a letter from Woodstock, of the 27th August, Secretary Conway stated the King's unwillingness, for the fault of one person, to make the innocent suffer, and to ruin the company†. This was after the play itself, as licensed by Sir H. Herbert, had been sent down to the King for perusal; but whether any and what punishment was inflicted upon the Master of the Revels does not appear: we only know, that he continued to discharge the duties of his situation as usual.

The dates of Howel's 'Familiar Letters' have frequently been found incorrect, or we might conclude that the previous order, referred to in Secretary Conway's first communication to the Privy Council, against re-

* This communication was as follows:—

'Right Honorable,—His Majesty having received satisfaction in 'your Lordships endeavors, and in the signification thereof to him by 'your's of the 21st of this present, hath commanded me to signify the 'same to you. And to add further, that his pleasure is, that your 'Lordships examine, by whose direction, and application, the personating 'of Gondomar, and others was done; and that being found out, the 'party or parties to be severely punished. His Majesty being unwill-'ing for one's sake, and only fault, to punish the innocent, or utterly to 'ruin the company. The discovery on what party his Majesty's justice is 'properly, and duly, to fall, and your execution of it, and the account to 'be returned thereof, his Majesty leaves to your Lordships wisdom and 'care. And this being that I have in charge, continuing the humble 'offer of my service and duty to the attendance of your command-'ments, &c.

'From Woodstock, the 27th August 1624.'

presenting 'any modern Christian Kings' in plays, had arisen out of some earlier representation of the same kind, in which Gondomar also formed a character. Howel writes thus from Madrid on the 15th of August, 1623:—'I am sorry to hear how other nations 'do much tax the English of their incivility to public 'Ministers of State, and what ballads and pasquils 'and fopperies and plays were made against Gondo-'mar for doing his Master's business.' If the letter containing this paragraph be genuine, and refer to Middleton's *Game of Chess*, it must have been written subsequent to August 1624, in order to give time for the tidings regarding the nature of the play to reach Spain. The fact is, that Prince Charles returned from Spain, after the breaking off the match with the Infanta, late in the autumn of 1623; and to take advantage of the popular feeling upon this question, Middleton's play was probably written in the succeeding spring, and certainly acted at the Globe in the summer.

This was the last transaction of the reign of James I. connected with the drama, beyond the performance of Ben Jonson's mask of *Pan's Anniversary*. The date of this piece has not been precisely ascertained, but it is marked 1625, and it was most likely represented at Christmas, 1624-5. The reign of James, as regards dramatic performances, may be closed by the subsequent extract of a letter, dated 8th of January, 1624-5, from Sir Dudley Carlton's constant and accurate correspondent, John Chamberlain:—'The King kept his

'chamber all this Christmas, not coming once to the 'chapel, nor to any of the plays; only in fair weather 'he looked abroad in his litter to see some flights at 'the brook. The Duke of Brunswick went hence on 'New-year's day, after he had tarried just a week, and 'performed many visits to almost all the great Lords 'and Ladies, as to the Lord of Canterbury, the Lord 'Keeper and the rest, not omitting Mrs. Bruce, nor 'the stage at Blackfriars.'

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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